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# **Tourism and Community Empowerment: Critical Insights from Indonesia**

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A thesis  
submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

at  
Lincoln University  
by  
Eva Rachmawati

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Lincoln University  
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Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
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## Tourism and Community Empowerment: Critical Insights from Indonesia

by

Eva Rachmawati

Empowerment is a way of enhancing an individual's or a community's capacity to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions leading to desired outcomes. In a tourism context, scholars have noted that sustainable tourism development can be achieved if local communities are empowered, thus having some level of control over the development process, and if they share equitably in the benefits of tourism. However, research about community empowerment in the tourism context, particularly in developing countries, indicates that generally benefits are not shared equally within communities for a range of reasons.

This study aims to explore how, and to what degree, tourism is empowering two rural communities in Indonesia. To answer these questions, this study employed a case study and mix-methods approach. The case studies chosen were two villages which have different approaches to planning and destination development (top-down – Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village and bottom-up – Namo Sialang village). The qualitative approach employed in-depth interviews and participatory observation to explore the context of the communities, and to understand existing community empowerment processes. The quantitative approach (a household survey) measured the extent to which residents of these rural villages experience empowerment at an individual and community level, and the factors influencing empowerment outcomes.

The survey results show that the different planning processes in operation in these villages has not resulted in significant differences in empowerment on most measures. Surveys of Namo Sialang village, with a bottom-up approach to tourism planning, showed some evidence of greater empowerment across all dimensions (economic, psychological, social and political), but these differences were not as substantial as might be expected. While this community has significant control over tourism development in their village, and there was some evidence of an enhancement of a sense of agency, collectivity, and self-awareness, those processes occurred only in certain community groups, not in the community as a whole.

In essence, this study suggests that expecting community empowerment – a western concept – in and through tourism development may not be entirely appropriate in this context. This may be because the concept does not take enough account of cultural factors and issues arising from political and geographical peripherality in the delivery of empowerment outcomes through tourism. Therefore, the community empowerment concept may need further assessment or refinement for application in the context of rural Indonesia, and developing countries more generally.

**Keywords:** Empowerment, tourism, community, national park, peripheral, culture, norms, planning process, Indonesia, Tangkahan, Bukit Lawang.



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## List of Acronyms

AD/ART	<i>Anggaran Dasar/Anggaran Rumah Tangga</i> (Charter/by laws)
ADOC	Asian Digital Opportunity Centre
BUMN	<i>Badan Usaha Milik Negara</i> (Government Enterprises)
CRU	Conservation Response Unit
CTO	Community Tour Operator
FFI	Flora Fauna International
GBHN	<i>Garis Besar Haluan Negara</i> (Outlines of State Policy)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLNP	Gunung Leuser National Park
HPI	<i>Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Tourist Guide Association)
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah
INDECON	Indonesian Ecotourism Network
IPPA	<i>Ijin Pengusahaan Pariwisata Alam</i> (Nature-based Tourism Exploitation Permit)
ITGA	Indonesian Tourist Guide Association
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
<i>Kowani</i>	<i>Kongress Wanita Indonesia</i> (the Indonesian Women's Congress)
LPT	<i>Lembaga Pariwisata Tangkahan</i> (Tangkahan Tourism Organisation)
MDK	<i>Model Desa Konservasi</i> (Conservation Village Model)
MoE	Ministry of Environment
MoF	Ministry of Forestry
MfGE	Ministry for Government Enterprises
MIA	Ministry of Internal Affairs
MoMF	Ministry of Marine and Fishery
MoMT	Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration
MfNEC	Ministry for National Education and Culture
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPR	<i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i> (People's Consultative Assembly)
MoTCE	Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy

MWECP	Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection
NGO	Non-government organisation
OIC	Orangutan Information Centre
PAD	<i>Pendapatan Daerah</i> (Regional Income)
PHKA	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Perlindungan Hutan dan Konservasi Alam</i> (Directorate General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation)
PKK	<i>Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i> (Women's Family Welfare Organisation)
PNBP	<i>Penerimaan Negara Bukan Pajak</i> (Non-tax revenue)
PNPM Mandiri	<i>Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat</i> (National Programme of Community Empowerment)
<i>Posyandu</i>	<i>Pos Pelayanan Terpadu</i> (Health services for children)
PPLH Bohorok	<i>Pusat Pendidikan Lingkungan Hidup Bahorok</i> (Bahorok Environmental Education Centre)
RETS	Resident Empowerment through Tourism Scale
RIPPARNAS	<i>Rencana Induk Pengembangan Pariwisata Nasional</i> (Master Plan of National Tourism Development)
RIS	Research information sheets
SIMAKSI	<i>Surat Ijin Masuk Kawasan Konservasi</i> (Permit to Enter Conservation Area)
SOCP	Sumatran Orangutan Conservation Program
TEDI	Tangkahan Ecotourism Development Initiative
WEF	World Economic Forum
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
YEL	<i>Yayasan Ekosistem Lestari</i> (Sustainable Ecosystem Foundation)

## Glossary of Bahasa Indonesia words

<i>Adat</i>	Customs, traditions, rules, or practices that guide social life and decision-making and outline obligations and expectations for social and economic relationships
<i>Bukit</i>	Hill
<i>Berani</i>	Bravery or boldness
<i>Getek</i>	A raft made of bamboo
<i>Gotong royong</i>	A community culture where community members work together to achieve a certain purpose
<i>Kejantanan</i>	Roosterish, virile, brave
<i>Lawang</i>	Door
<i>Lemah</i>	Weak, supple, graceful
<i>Musyawarah</i>	A collective effort with a humble attitude to resolve an issue (seek a way out); to make a joint decision on a resolution that concerns the affairs of the community
<i>Pijat/Kusuk</i>	Traditional massage
<i>Rakit</i>	Traditional water transport made from wood and bamboo
<i>Wiridan</i>	A Qur'an recitation programme (usually done by women)

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Community empowerment and tourism

When an individual or a community is 'empowered' they gain the capacity and resources to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. In tourism literature, scholars have noted that the goal of sustainable tourism development and community empowerment must go hand in hand (Boley, Maruyama, & Woosnam, 2015; Cole, 2006; Li & Hunter, 2015; Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 2007). This combination ensures that local people are involved in – and have some meaningful level of control over – the kind of tourism that develops locally; that they are aware of the opportunities tourism brings, and are able to share equitably in the enduring benefits (Bookbinder, Dinerstein, Rijal, Cauley, & Rajouria, 1998; Byrd, 2007; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Garrod, 2003; He et al., 2008; Tosun, 2000). Empowerment is included as one of the 12 agenda items for sustainable tourism that aims to increase local control of the decision-making process and/or planning for tourism development (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005).

Studies of community empowerment in the tourism development context indicate that while community members can experience a number of economic, social, psychological, and political benefits (across the empowerment spectrum), those benefits are not always shared equally within the community (Cole, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; World Economic Forum, 2013). This is because tourism is a complex and ever-changing phenomenon that has diverse and often contradictory consequences, providing a number of social, cultural and economic impacts on communities, both positive *and* negative (Butler, 2016; Cole, 2006; Dolezal, 2015).

This thesis delves deeper into this complex issue, exploring how and to what degree tourism is empowering two rural communities in Indonesia. Tourism is a vital foreign exchange earner in this country and there is an expectation that it will contribute to the nation's development through the provision of jobs and employment in urban areas and (often poorer) rural regions and their communities (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). Thus, tourism is increasingly viewed as a development tool for many developing countries to solve the issues they face. In this context, tourism is seen to have a number of roles, including empowering individuals and communities (Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Klimmek, 2013; McMillan, O'Gorman, & MacLaren, 2011).

Empowerment notions have been discussed for over three decades in scholarly writings on tourism and development, with no universally agreed-upon definition of the concept (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017; Akama, 1996; Scheyvens, 1999). In general, empowerment can be defined as a way of enhancing an individual's or a community's capacity to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions leading to desired outcomes. In the tourism context, community empowerment is seen as an important requirement for achieving sustainable tourism development (Boley et al., 2015; Boley & McGehee, 2014; Cole, 2006; Li & Hunter, 2015; Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 2007; Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

Indonesia, where this study was conducted, has many potential attractions suitable to support tourism development. Over the last few decades, the potential of some areas has been recognised, and tourism development is now well-advanced. In other areas, tourism is only beginning to be established. The Indonesian government began to strategically plan for tourism development 40 years ago (Kurniansah, 2015; Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012; Teguh, 2011). Indonesia is a developing country with peripheral characteristics, particularly in a geographic and political sense. In this context, tourism development, aside from a vital foreign exchange earner, is expected to contribute to equitable development through jobs and employment creation in urban and rural regions, especially in poorer and remote rural areas (see Chapter Four) (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

Concern over the direction tourism was taking in communities in Indonesia has provided the impetus for a government programme for sustainable tourism, which includes a set of guidelines (see Section 4.3.2). The language of community empowerment is a key feature of the policy documentation associated with Indonesia's sustainable tourism programme. The community empowerment concept, as applied in a tourism development context, was first defined in the Indonesian National Policy (*Garis Besar Haluan Negara/GBHN*) 1993 as "public awareness and active participation in tourism activities that need to be intensified to improve cultural and tourism quality attractiveness while maintaining religious values, national identity image, as well as national dignity". The notion of empowerment features prominently in programmes such as the Government's National Programme of Community Empowerment of Tourism (*Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat/PNPM Mandiri*). This programme's main purpose is to accelerate poverty alleviation and increase employment opportunities by building public awareness and strengthening institutional conditions so that the community can become a reliable actor in tourism in Indonesia (see Section 4.4) (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Republik Indonesia, 2011).

The programme purpose shows that the Indonesian government is more focused on economic empowerment as an outcome and has prepared the community as tourism organisers, not the decision-makers. The tourism organiser role refers to the ability of a community to fulfil the tourist needs, e.g., to become better hosts or guides. A decision-maker role refers to the capacity or ability to decide what they want to do related to tourism development in their area. Several strategies undertaken by the Indonesian government in the community empowerment programme include the development of tourism infrastructure (e.g., access, accommodation) and community capacity building (e.g., training to increase community knowledge and awareness about culture preservation, tourism management, culinary matters, craft, and language) (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Republik Indonesia, 2011).

As suggested in much literature, tourism is a complex phenomenon that has diverse and often contradictory consequences, providing a number of social, cultural and economic impacts on communities, both positive and negative (Besculides, Lee, & McCormick, 2002; Butler, 2016; Cole, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; He et al., 2008; Klimmek, 2013; Macbeth, Carson, & Northcote, 2008; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). The studies in community empowerment in the tourism development literature indicate that, while community members experience a number of economic, social, psychological, and political benefits, those benefits are not shared equally within the community (e.g., between genders, between core and peripheral locations, and with minority ethnic groups; see Section 2.4) (Cole, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; He et al., 2008; Klimmek, 2013; Lapeyre, 2010; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2001; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). Similarly, the task of community empowerment in Indonesia is not without its challenges, such as a lack of stakeholder coordination, weak policy and regulations, lack of community participation in planning processes and a lack of human capacity (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2010; Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

As outlined above, one of the important threads in debates about sustainable tourism and empowerment is community involvement or participation, and it is acknowledged that the quality and level of participation varies across regions, particularly in developing countries. One factor that inhibits community participation is the top-down approach to planning or decision-making, whereby decision-making power lies with government or stakeholders with 'official' standing (e.g., non-governmental organisations), leaving little role for local communities (Garrod, 2003; Narayanan, 2003; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995; Zeppel, 2006). In some cases, planning is administered by 'outsiders', including government officials, who may view the community as 'an object' of development and they design programmes based on 'what the outside stakeholders can do' rather than 'what the community needs' (Narayanan, 2003, p. 2484). Furthermore, the unequal power between external stakeholders and communities in decision-making often limits the local

community's ability to obtain tourism benefits, thereby further inhibiting community empowerment (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Charnley, 2005; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; He et al., 2008; Narayanan, 2003; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995).

The recognised limitations of a top-down approach to tourism planning has led to calls in the development literature for a bottom-up participatory approach, which is seen as offering the greatest potential to affect the necessary changes in local stakeholders' attitudes and actions (Byrd, 2007; Garrod, 2003; Narayanan, 2003; Tosun, 2000; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). This approach involves public participation in tourism development and encourages local communities to take greater control of their future by becoming involved in the planning process (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). In this way, empowerment offers a way for local communities in developing countries to have control over certain developments in their area to reduce the negative impacts and to increase benefits from the development to enhance their quality of life (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017; Scheyvens, 1999, 2002; Sofield, 2003).

Despite the claims that a bottom-up approach to tourism planning will result in greater empowerment, to date, there is limited empirical supporting evidence (Caalders, 2000; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). It has been argued that the empowerment concept is a western cultural notion and most analyses have taken a western-centric view (Sadan, 2004). Studies point to a set of challenges facing communities in developing countries in achieving empowerment outcomes, including a lack of education and weak institutional structures (Ayesha, n.d; Harris, Moore, & Schmitz, 2009; United Nations, 2018); factors which many scholars have suggested are crucial to achieving community empowerment (Moscardo, 2008; Perrot-Lanaud, Sidhu, Tang, & Samson, 2005; Pigg, 2002; Scott, Baggio, & Cooper, 2008, p. 41; Sofield, 2003; Tosun & Timothy, 2003). These challenges raise the question of whether the empowerment concept is entirely appropriate for developing countries.

The concept of empowerment has a range of dimensions, which are further discussed in Chapter Two. Firstly, empowerment is a 'process' that refers to an effort to improve community capacity and ability to participate in tourism development (initiation, implementation, and management of tourism) (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Boley et al., 2015; Boley & McGehee, 2014; Cole, 2006; Sadan, 2004; Scheyvens, 1999, 2002; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 2007). A second approach to empowerment refers to the need to measure or identify the impact of an empowerment programme, including in the tourism context ("empowerment as an outcome") (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Sadan, 2004; Scheyvens, 1999, 2002; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 2007; Zimmerman, 1995). A review of the literature by Aghazamani and Hunt (2017) found that empowerment is largely assessed in terms of outcomes rather than process. At the same time, in a developing country where empowerment outcomes have

been measured, typically only some types of empowerment are the focus, particularly economic empowerment (Boley et al., 2015; Boley & McGehee, 2014; Cole, 2006; Li & Hunter, 2015; McMillan et al., 2011; Movono & Dahles, 2017; Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 2007; Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

As a process, community empowerment, a multidimensional, dynamic concept, is often context-dependent (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017; Zimmerman, 1995) whereby culture can be simultaneously empowering and disempowering (Cole, 2007; Guinée, 2014; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Weng & Peng, 2014). Many scholars have suggested that, in the tourism context, culture can support community empowerment (Cole, 2007; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012; Maruyama, Woosnam, & Boley, 2016a), while also inhibiting it by limiting community opportunities or intentions to be involved in tourism or the planning process (Braden & Mayo, 1999; Cole, 2006, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; Dombroski, 2006; Hatipoglu, Alvarez, & Ertuna, 2016; Hwang & Stewart, 2016; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Thammajinda, 2013; Tosun, 2000; Weng & Peng, 2014). For example, in many cases the community has some control of tourism development, nevertheless the development is difficult to implement effectively since communities are heterogeneous and local realities are characterised by different power structures and cultural contexts (Dolezal, 2015; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000). Since empowerment and culture have a complex relationship, there is a need to gain a deeper understanding of how culture affects community empowerment – an issue addressed in the current study.

Community empowerment in and through tourism development is often expected to enhance a rural community's quality of life (Ahmad & Talib, 2015). However, the literature indicates that tourism development in rural areas often faces several challenges, primarily limited access to resources (Brown & Hall, 2000; Dodds, Ali, & Galaski, 2016; Hall & Boyd, 2005; Wahab & Cooper, 2005). The literature indicates that rural communities in developing countries often have additional limitations such as a lack of knowledge, and reliance on imported information, which may impede community empowerment (Blackman et al., 2004) (Cole, 2006, 2007; Moscardo, 2008; Ramos & Prideaux, 2014; Scheyvens, 2002; Thomas & Middleton, 2003). The importance of the issue of peripherality is acknowledged in the current study, situated as it is in two rural communities.

The most commonly used framework to assess the outcomes of empowerment is that developed by Scheyvens (1999). The framework was devised to provide a mechanism to determine the effectiveness of tourism initiatives in terms of their impacts on local communities (Scheyvens, 1999). This framework was considered appropriate since it has already been applied in other developing country contexts that use natural resources (e.g., national parks) as the basis of tourism development (Scheyvens, 1999).



The framework has four dimensions: economic, psychological, social, and political empowerment.

**Economic empowerment** refers to community access to economic opportunities and benefits arising from tourism development that are equitably distributed in the community (Scheyvens, 1999).

**Psychological empowerment** refers to tourism's potential "to increase residents' pride and self-esteem from the feelings associated with visitors traveling to one's community to experience the unique natural and cultural features the community has to offer" (Boley et al., 2015, p. 5; Scheyvens, 1999). **Social empowerment** refers to the ability of tourism to enhance community interactions and/or collaboration and, by extension, community cohesion, resilience, well-being, social capital and solidarity (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Scheyvens, 1999). Lastly, **Political empowerment** is about a community's ability to control the direction, level and type of tourism development in its area (Boley et al., 2015; Scheyvens, 1999) (see Section 2.3.1).

To assess the process of community empowerment in tourism development, this study used Knight and Cottrell (2016) power framework; namely 'power over', 'power to', 'power with' and 'power within'. **Power over** (domination) refers to the increased ability to control others, through overt or covert coercion, that influences their ability to access and control resources (e.g., information, money, skills) on which others depend (Lukes, 1974; Simons & Groot, 2015) and control decision-making (Lukes, 1974). **'Power to'** (agency) is a process to increase an individual's ability to exist or to act as one wishes, and creates or unlocks opportunities without domination but in a way that is still socially-dependent (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). **Power with** (collectivity) is a process to increase a community's ability to meet group needs or interests collectively (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). Lastly, **power within** (self-awareness) is a process to increase people's awareness of political and social conditions, especially as a precursor to challenging inequalities of opportunity or outcome that gives individuals or communities the ability to control valuable resources and to secure returns from having tourism in their community (Li & Hunter, 2015) (see Section 2.3.2).

In developing countries, the empowerment of women is a theme that is often discussed by scholars. An analysis of the empowerment of women is needed since much literature shows that women are often marginalised in development, including tourism development (Annes & Wright, 2015; Iwuagwu, Alex-Onyeocha, & Lynda, 2015; Moswete & Lacey, 2015). In addition, while literature indicates that involvement in the tourism industry and planning are crucial to achieving women's empowerment (Brookes & Nwosu, 2014; Guinée, 2014; Jayaweera, 1997; Moswete & Lacey, 2015; Movono & Dahles, 2017; Pleno, 2006; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995; Yahaya & Yahaya, 2014), women generally have fewer opportunities to be involved in the process of tourism development for several reasons, including low education levels and community culture (i.e., a patriarchal culture) (Annes & Wright, 2015; Iwuagwu et al., 2015; Moswete & Lacey, 2015). While scholars have suggested that culture is one factor inhibiting women's empowerment, very few studies have been conducted to

understand how culture may hinder women's empowerment. Therefore, there is a need to have a more comprehensive discussion of gender empowerment through the processes and outcomes of tourism development, which the current study addresses.

There is very limited literature on tourism and community empowerment in the Indonesian context, focusing mainly on community empowerment as an outcome of tourism development (Butarbutar & Soemarno, 2013b; Cole, 2006, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; Herawati, Purwaningsih, & Pudianti, 2014; Hidayat, Rahmanita, & Hermantoro, 2017; Sumarja & Wahab, 2014) (see Section 2.5). To measure outcomes, most scholars have used a qualitative approach (Cole, 2006; Hidayat et al., 2017; Sumarja & Wahab, 2014). These studies have suggested that, in this country, tourism does have the potential to empower a community (Cole, 2006; Herawati et al., 2014). Discussion on the community empowerment process, including women's empowerment, in the tourism development in Indonesia, is notable for its absence.

This study also offers critical insights from Indonesia on how and to what degree the process and outcomes of tourism development are empowering two rural communities. By selecting two case studies with different approaches to tourism planning (top-down and bottom-up), it has been possible to explore how the differences in approach affect levels of community empowerment.

## **1.2 Research objectives**

Tourism researchers have long debated the impact and implications of tourism development on local 'host' communities, in both developed and developing countries (Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). The discussion focuses on the importance of involving local communities in tourism development, to ensure: 1) communities are agreeable to, and able to influence and guide, the type of tourism taking hold in their community; and 2) that there are ample opportunities for them to benefit from local tourist developments, including through direct employment. At the centre of many recent studies on the impact of tourism on host communities, particularly in developing countries, is the idea that tourism can and should "empower" local residents (Boley et al., 2015; Cole, 2006). Taking the above as a conceptual starting point, this study explores ***how and to what degree tourism is empowering local rural communities in Indonesia.***

To answer the central research question, the following objectives have been defined:

1. Who are the actors/stakeholders involved and what are their motivations for involvement in tourism development in the case study areas? What role does community empowerment have in these motivations?
2. What is the role of the various actors/stakeholders in community empowerment related to tourism development in the study areas?

3. What are the processes of community empowerment that are occurring/have occurred in the study areas?
4. How are local communities being empowered in tourism development?
5. What is the extent of empowerment and/or disempowerment of tourism in the case study areas?

The research objectives are examined through the experiences of Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang villages. The two case studies were purposefully selected to represent communities where tourism was developed using different approaches (top-down and bottom-up, respectively) and that has a different length of involvement in tourism.

### **1.3 Significance of the research**

In the above context, this study links current concepts in tourism studies, about the relationship between sustainable tourism development and empowerment, with empirical findings from Indonesia. It aims to see the extent to which local residents are involved in tourism development in practice, the outcomes of tourism development, and in particular, the extent to which they are empowered in this process and in these outcomes. Though the issue of empowerment is much discussed in the developing country context, the study's findings also critique current understanding of the appropriateness of community empowerment concept in a developing country. The findings from this study contribute to an understanding of how different approaches in tourism planning, namely top-down or bottom-up, affect community empowerment in Indonesia.

The significance of this study is that by evaluating these issues, factors that are likely to contribute to the success (i.e., enabling factors) or failure (i.e., limiting factors) of empowerment in tourism development and outcomes in a developing country are identified, particularly in Indonesia. Wider and deeper understanding of the barriers to community empowerment may assist tourism policymakers in initiating appropriate strategies to overcome those limitations, to plan appropriate community involvement approaches in tourism development to achieve community empowerment. Finally, this study provides detailed cases that demonstrate practical mechanisms of community empowerment in tourism development that can be applied to other communities with a similar context.

This study also contributes insights to current understanding of:

1. The influence of geographical factors in community empowerment such as the issues arising from political and geographical peripherality in the delivery of empowerment outcomes through tourism.

2. How culture influences community empowerment, both in terms of process and outcome. In particular, this study provides an example of how community culture (e.g., community values and norms) could affect the opportunity structure in community empowerment and how the process could affect the outcomes perceived by the community.
3. How community culture, in this case, community values, affect community empowerment for certain group such as women or ethnic minorities. The findings of this study could be used to assist stakeholders in identifying, planning, and then designing appropriate strategies for women's empowerment in tourism development.
4. How stakeholders, who play a crucial role in tourism development, can design and plan their programmes and activities with a more empowering approach.

## 1.4 Thesis organisation

This thesis comprises 11 chapters. **Chapter One** is this introductory chapter.

**Chapter Two** provides a critical literature review of the concept of community empowerment in general, and in a tourism development context. For the review of community empowerment in tourism, empowerment is discussed and presented in two sub-topics, community empowerment as a process, and community empowerment as an outcome. Several factors that influence community empowerment are discussed, including the role of tourism stakeholders as external agents in community empowerment; the influence of community involvement, both in tourism planning and in the tourism industry towards community empowerment; the influence of peripheral characteristics on empowerment; and the role of the cultural construct in community empowerment.

**Chapter Three** outlines the research methodology, including the case study selection, the study methods used, the data analysis employed, and the justification for their use. It provides an overview of the data collection process and the data analysis (i.e., in-depth interviews, household survey, document analysis, participatory, and field observations); and the research limitations.

**Chapter Four** describes the Indonesian context. A general overview of Indonesia is provided (e.g., community, political, natural, and cultural resources), along with a discussion regarding tourism development (e.g., stakeholders, regulations, tourism contribution), and community empowerment. The chapter provides the context for the analysis of the study's results.

Chapters **Five** and **Six** present the contextual information for the two case study areas. Chapter Five discusses Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village, the field context with a top-down approach to tourism planning and a longer time of tourism development. Chapter Six presents Namo Sialang village, the study's setting with a bottom-up approach to tourism planning and shorter time in tourism development. These chapters are the result of the qualitative approach, based on in-depth

interviews with tourism stakeholders, document analysis, and participatory observation, and describe a general overview of the villages (e.g., village location, public facilities, and community demography); tourism development in each village (e.g., history of tourism development, tourism facilities, attractions and activities); the tourist numbers and characteristics; the stakeholders involved in tourism development (e.g., profiles, roles, motivation, purpose, and activities in the development) and their perceptions regarding community empowerment.

Chapters **Seven** and **Eight** present the survey results and discuss the extent of community empowerment as perceived by the communities. Chapter Seven discusses the extent of community empowerment in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang; Namo Sialang village is discussed in Chapter Eight. To assess the extent of community empowerment in tourism development in the two areas, this study employed Scheyvens (1999) empowerment framework dimensions as above. These chapters also discuss the factors (i.e., enabling and limiting factors) that could influence a community's sense of empowerment resulting from tourism development.

Chapter **Nine** summarises the results for both case study areas and discusses the key finding from Chapters Seven and Eight.

Chapter **Ten** discusses all the significant findings from the study and explores some explanations for the findings, in the light of the literature. The chapter discusses tourism planning approaches in tourism development that are based on government initiatives (top-down approach) and community initiatives (bottom-up approach) and the resulting empowerment outcome. The analysis reveals interesting insights that the approaches to tourism planning, either top-down or bottom-up, do not result in significant differences in the extent of community empowerment. It is argued that tourism planning and stakeholder responses are influenced by the communities' peripherality that has affected community empowerment such as access to empowerment resources (e.g., tourism market, access to information) and access to power (the governance context). This chapter also discusses how a community's culture (e.g., values and norms) affects community empowerment.

Chapter **Eleven**, the final chapter, presents the conclusions and the implications of this study in providing a broader understanding of community empowerment in tourism development in Indonesia, with possible implications for communities in other developing countries. Significant issues raised from this research and recommendations for future research complete the chapter.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Tourism Development and Community Empowerment**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the literature on community empowerment and its relevance and application to tourism. It has four sections: The first section discusses the evolution of the concept of community empowerment. Then the second section examines the notion of community empowerment in a tourism planning and development context. It discusses empowerment as an outcome of tourism and presents debates regarding community empowerment as a process involved in tourism development. The third section discusses factors that limit community empowerment in the tourism context. The final section provides an overview of empowerment research in tourism in Indonesia. It also discusses the role of gender in community empowerment, another key focus in the research literature, and the current thesis.

#### **2.2 Community empowerment**

Empowerment theory advocates community-based initiatives as a tool for sustainable development (Ahmad & Talib, 2015). This theory has been discussed in western countries for over three decades (Sadan, 2004) and is used in a number of disciplines including political science (Friedmann, 1992), women's studies (Rowlands, 1997), psychology (Zimmerman, 1995; Zimmerman, Israel, Schulz, & Checkoway, 1992), education (Freire, 1974), health studies (Wallerstein, 1992), community development (Pigg, 2002) and tourism (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017; Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield, 2003). Empowerment theory includes analysis of the creation of collaborative capacity, building community capacity and fostering change at the local level (Ahmad & Talib, 2015), which aims to give the community greater control over its resources and their use (Garrod, 2003).

In the achievement of the objectives and strategy of tourism development, an individual or a group can affect or be affected by the development; they are known as "stakeholders" (Freeman, 1984). Local residents are one of the stakeholders most affected by tourism development in their area. Community is often used to refer to a heterogeneous set of local people (Ashley & Roe, 1998) or multiple stakeholder groups with diverse views, interests and experiences (Li & Hunter, 2015) that reside in the same geographic area and access a set of local resources (Drumm & Moore, 2005). However, when talking about community empowerment, the community is far more than those residing in a geographical territory but includes those with interests in the community.

The term "empowerment" has various definitions and foci, however, the concept contains two key ideas: empowerment as a result/condition/outcome (a person or group is empowered) (see Section

2.3.1) and empowerment as a process (of empowering groups or individuals) (see Section 2.3.2) (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Pigg, 2002). Empowerment outcomes are generally a consequence of empowerment processes. However, an empowering process does not necessarily result in empowered outcomes. Empowerment, as an outcome occurs at various levels and may be measured at the individual or community level (Hur, 2006). It also takes a number of forms, namely, economic, psychological, social, and political empowerment (see Section 2.3.1), and may not be shared equitably within a community (Scheyvens, 1999).

Individual empowerment aims to achieve individual power ('agency'), which refers to an actor's ability to make meaningful choices (e.g., the ability to envisage options and make a choice) (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005); or people's ability to define their goals and objectives and act upon them (Pigg, 2002). Individual empowerment correlates with a person's sense of efficacy (Pigg, 2002) and the goal of individual empowerment is to achieve a state of liberation strong enough to influence one's power in life, community, and society (Hur, 2006).

By comparison, an empowered community can be described as a group of people that have the ability, determination, and resources to act so they can regulate their quality of life and who work together to improve their collective lives and the connections between the community and stakeholders that help maintain that quality of life (Sadan, 2004; Zimmerman, 1995). However, when empowerment is not effectively operating, personal empowerment sometimes conflicts with the development of collective empowerment. Although individuals can become more empowered, this may be at the expense of, or at least not aid, collective empowerment (Hur, 2006). Empowerment at the community level can be achieved if individuals are acting for the community's interest rather than for their own desires (Sadan, 2004).

## **2.3 Community empowerment in tourism development**

The notion of empowerment has been applied to tourism studies since the 1980s. Akama (1996) first emphasised the need for links to be made between community empowerment and tourism. Subsequently, Scheyvens (1999) proposed an empowerment framework as a suitable mechanism to analyse tourism impacts on local communities (see Section 2.3.1). Applied studies were also underway in the 1990s. Akama (1996) for example, argued that empowerment is needed so that local communities (in this case, rural peasants in Kenya) could be meaningfully involved in the design, implementation, and management of tourism projects developed in their area – their involvement leading to support for new developments and ensuring success for the tourism programme, and the community benefits from the outcomes. Scheyvens (1999) complements Akama's suggestion by promoting both local conservation and development so that community benefits from the development. In addition, Scheyvens (2002) argues that since empowerment is a crucial determinant

for sustainable tourism development, it is important to incorporate community empowerment into tourism planning processes.

Sofield (2003, p. 112) defines empowerment in tourism primarily in terms of a process and acknowledges a range of outcomes, without specifying what these are. This definition states that empowerment is:

*[a] multi-dimensional process that provides communities with a consultative process often characterised by the input of outside expertise; the opportunity to learn and to choose; the ability to make decisions; the capacity to implement/apply those decisions; acceptance of responsibility for those decisions and actions and their consequences; and outcomes directly benefiting the community and its members, or diverted or channelled into other communities and /or their members.*

A literature review by Aghazamani and Hunt (2017) reveals that tourism scholars have not yet developed a definition that encompasses all the ways that empowerment is being applied in the study of tourism. They offered the following definition of empowerment to promote greater cohesiveness in scholarly writing and research:

*“A multidimensional, context-dependent, and dynamic process that provides humans, individually or collectively, with greater agency, freedom, and capacity to improve their quality of life as a function of engagement with the phenomenon of tourism.”* (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017, p. 343)

As with the earlier definition by Sofield (2003), this definition is primarily aligned with community empowerment as discussed in this study, though referring broadly to ‘quality of life’ improvements as outcomes. However, Sofield (2003) notes that for an individual or community to be empowered, they generally need inputs and support from outsiders (see Section 2.3.2).

In summary then, in a tourism context, local communities need to be empowered so they can: 1) play a part in determining whether tourism is an appropriate activity to pursue in their region, town or community; 2) influence the type of tourism that develops locally, based on an assessment of what is appropriate (Scheyvens, 2002); and 3) ensure enduring positive outcomes and thus maximise the benefits they receive (Akama, 1996).

### **2.3.1 Community empowerment as an outcome**

Empowerment outcomes refer to specific measurements, both quantitative and qualitative, that may be used to identify the impact of an empowerment programme, generate a body of empirical literature that helps develop empowerment theory and develop a better understanding of the relationship between empowerment processes and outcomes (Zimmerman, 1995). The tourism literature recognises that being empowered means that communities are not only able to participate



in tourism planning and the tourism industry, but also have authority and capacity to find solutions to their problems and make decisions and the capacity to implement the decisions. There must be acceptance of responsibility for those decisions or actions and their consequences, and be able to evaluate their decision(s) and outcomes directly benefiting the community and its members, or diverted or channeled into other communities (Cole, 2006; Scheyvens, 2002; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 2007). Thus, there is a need to identify and assess the perceptions of host communities regarding their empowerment and how these perceptions influence their attitudes and support for tourism (Boley et al., 2015; Boley & McGehee, 2014). In this way, researchers can identify how tourism development affects communities (Scheyvens, 2002) and these could be used to determine which initiatives are successful in empowering residents, and which are not (Boley et al., 2015). This knowledge would allow stakeholders to design an appropriate plan for community involvement in tourism development to increase their support for the development and enhance a community's general well-being and quality of life (Scheyvens, 1999, 2002).

To analyse tourism impacts on local communities, Scheyvens (1999) proposes an empowerment framework that includes economic, psychological, social, and political dimensions (see Table 2.1, page 29). This framework primarily relates to empowerment as an outcome even though political empowerment also relates to the processes of empowerment. Scheyvens (1999) suggests that the framework could be applied to both western and developing countries and could be used by stakeholders to plan a community involvement strategy in sustainable tourism development. She suggests that it is perhaps particularly relevant when assessing the extent to which indigenous people or other disadvantaged groups benefit from tourism development. The Scheyvens (1999) framework is outlined below.

### **Economic empowerment**

Economic empowerment is related to poverty alleviation through freedom enhancement at the individual level (Sen, 2000). Tourism may support the economic empowerment of individuals based on employment (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017; Kundu, 2012). It has been argued that tourism may also provide employment and business opportunities (e.g., entrepreneurship) to disadvantaged groups (e.g., women, young people, and ethnic minorities), which can lead to financial independence (Cole, 2007; Ndivo & Cantoni, 2015). Cole (2007) notes that entrepreneurship is important, particularly for women and other disadvantaged groups, who may not have the skills to enter other forms of employment. Rural tourism, if properly managed, can reduce rural community poverty by diversifying employment opportunities based on local tourism assets (Kundu, 2012).

Tourism is believed to be able to alleviate poverty and contribute to local development since tourism delivers consumers (tourists) to the product (tourism destination) so that the community has a new

Table 2.1 A framework for determining the empowerment of tourism development in local communities (Scheyvens, 1999; 2002, p. 60)

Signs of empowerment	Signs of disempowerment
<b>Economic empowerment</b>	
Tourism brings lasting economic gains to a local community. Cash earned is shared between many households in the community. There are visible signs of improvements from the cash that is earned (e.g., improved water systems, houses made of more permanent materials; more children are able to attend school).	Tourism merely results in small spasmodic cash gains for a local community. Most profits go to local elite, outside operator, and government agencies. Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefit from tourism; others cannot find a way to share in these economic benefits because they lack capital, experience, and/or appropriate skills.
<b>Psychological empowerment</b>	
Self-esteem of many community members is enhanced because of outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of their culture, their natural resources, and their traditional knowledge. Increasing confidence of community members leads them to seek out further education and training opportunities. Access to employment and cash leads to an increase in status for traditionally low-status sectors of society, e.g., women, youth, the poor.	Those who interact with tourists are left feeling that their culture and way of life are inferior. Many people do not share in the benefits of tourism, yet they may face hardships because of reduced access to the resources of a protected area. They are thus confused, frustrated, uninterested, or disillusioned with the initiative.
<b>Social empowerment</b>	
Tourism maintains or enhances the local community's equilibrium. Community cohesion is improved as individuals and families work together to build a successful tourism venture. Some funds raised are used for community development purposes, e.g., to build schools, improve roads or the water supply.	Disharmony and social decay. Many in the community take on outside values and lose respect for traditional culture and elders. Disadvantaged groups (e.g., women) bear the brunt of problems associated with the tourism initiative and fail to share equitably in its benefits. Rather than cooperating, individuals, families, ethnic or socio-economic groups compete with each other for the perceived benefits of tourism. Resentment and jealousy are commonplace.
<b>Political empowerment</b>	
The community's political structure, which fairly represents the needs and interests of all community groups, provides a forum through which people can raise questions relating to the ecotourism venture and have their concerns dealt with. Agencies initiating or implementing the tourism venture seek out the opinions of community groups (including special interest groups of women, youth and socially disadvantaged groups) and provide opportunities for them to be represented on decision-making bodies, e.g., the Wildlife Park Board, the regional tourism association.	The community has an autocratic and/or self-interested leadership. Agencies are initiating or implementing the tourism venture treat communities as passive beneficiaries, failing to involve them in decision-making. Thus most community members feel they have little or no say over <i>whether</i> the tourism initiative operates or <i>the way in which</i> it operates.

market for its products and services. Thus, tourism potentially links to traditional livelihood occupations such as agriculture, fishing, and handicraft production, thus stimulating a local economy (Cole, 2007; Ndivo & Cantoni, 2015).

At the community level, economic empowerment refers to improved community's access to economic opportunities and benefits arising from tourism development that are equitably distributed (Scheyvens, 1999). However, many studies suggest that the benefit of tourism is rarely shared equally within the community (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Butarbutar & Soemarno, 2013a; Cole, 2007; He et al., 2008; Klimmek, 2013; Lapeyre, 2010; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2001; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995), since communities do not usually consist of homogeneous, egalitarian groups with shared goals (Sofield & Birtles, 1996). Inequitable distribution of benefits within a community may discourage participation and create or exacerbate divisions (Coria & Calfucura, 2012) and may, in turn, result in disempowerment within a community or a subgroup of a community.

Economic disempowerment can occur when local elite or stakeholders monopolise the economic benefits of tourism (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017) and when traditional income streams are threatened or limited by tourism. In tourism destinations that use natural resources as the main attraction, Scheyvens (1999) notes that economic empowerment or disempowerment can also refer to a local community's access to productive resources in an area now targeted by tourism. For example, the establishment of protected areas often reduces access to hunting and agricultural lands. In addition, economic disempowerment can occur when most local people lack the skills and knowledge needed to take part in higher-level jobs in the tourism industry and cannot get the significant economic benefit associated with them (Klimmek, 2013).

Therefore, when considering whether a community has been economically empowered by tourism development, it is necessary to consider opportunities that have arisen from tourism activities (e.g., both formal and informal sector employment and business opportunities) (Scheyvens, 1999).

Opportunities have to be accessible to the wider community, including women and other disadvantaged groups, to ensure community empowerment is achieved (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Scheyvens, 1999).

### **Psychological empowerment**

**Psychological empowerment** in the tourism context highlights "tourism's potential to increase resident pride and self-esteem from the feelings associated with visitors traveling to one's community to experience the unique natural and cultural features the community has to offer" (Boley et al., 2015, p. 5; Scheyvens, 1999). At an individual level, psychological empowerment means that people have confidence in their ability to participate equitably and effectively in tourism

development. Self-worth is important if one feels that tourism is a viable process for them to engage in and if they are to move beyond being seen as just passive beneficiaries (Scheyvens, 2002).

At the community level, if a community has faith in its members' abilities, is relatively self-reliant and demonstrates pride in traditions and culture, it can be said that it is psychologically empowered (Scheyvens, 1999). The increase in pride and self-esteem may influence community support for tourism development in the area (Boley, McGehee, Perdue, & Long, 2014), and can further strengthen this and other empowerment outcomes. Tourism can enhance community psychological empowerment by giving them the opportunity to promote its unique culture (Rasoolimanesh, Ringle, Jaafar, & Ramayah, 2017). Tourism promotion encourages the community to preserve its culture (Macbeth et al., 2008; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017); which means psychological empowerment may be influenced by the form of tourism applied in the area.

Tourism can also encourage interaction between people from different cultures and intercultural exchange (Macbeth et al., 2008) that often improves a community's sense of identity and enhances its cultural pride (Macbeth et al., 2008; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017) that can lead to gaining prestige to the community. Local people usually do not fully appreciate their resources, either natural or cultural, since they live with them for a very long time, while an outsider often has a fresh look and may add value to the resources. This appreciation can change the way a local community sees its surroundings, particularly those that attract tourists (Drumm & Moore, 2005). Interaction through tourism can create opportunities for learning within the community since its members can share information and knowledge between them (Kubo & Supriyanto, 2010). In addition, an increase in community members' confidence may lead them to increase their skill and knowledge (Sadan, 2004) by seeking out further education and training opportunities (Scheyvens, 2002).

Psychological empowerment can enhance through community involvement in the tourism industry. By being involved in the tourism industry, the community can enhance their "agency," e.g., increase its language skills and build external contacts. Improvement in skills develops a community's desire to work in higher-skilled employment (e.g., work with foreigners or international organisations), which can increase people's socio-economic status within the community (Cole, 2007).

This psychological empowerment is not a given, however; tourism that is sensitive to cultural norms and builds respect for local traditions can empower local people, but tourism that interferes with customs may have devastating effects such as feelings of ill-health, and apathy and depression, along with disillusionment and confusion, which indicate the psychological disempowerment of a community (Scheyvens, 1999).

## **Social empowerment**

Social empowerment refers to the ability of tourism to enhance community's interaction and/or collaboration and, by extension, improving its cohesion, resilience, well-being, social capital, and solidarity (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Scheyvens, 1999). Social empowerment also refers to the situation in which a community's sense of cohesion and integrity has been confirmed or strengthened by involvement in tourism (Scheyvens, 1999, 2002). This can be seen in an increase in connections within the community (Boley & McGehee, 2014) and when its members perceive themselves as being more connected to the community. This will generally make them more willing to work together toward common goals (e.g., to ensure the success of tourism development, to increase community welfare) (Boley & Cassandra, 2016; Scheyvens, 1999). Strong community groups, including youth groups, church groups and women's groups, and good participation in community meetings, may also be signs of an empowered community (Scheyvens, 1999, 2002). Opportunities for the community to interact positively (i.e., participate in special events) may also help foster a sense of community solidarity (Maruyama, Woosnam, & Boley, 2016b). Tourism that provides opportunities for members of a community to connect with each other can significantly influence their support for tourism development and acknowledgment of tourism's contribution to their lives (Maruyama et al., 2016b).

Social empowerment is an outcome that can be achieved by organising people for action by mobilising assets in ways that multiply influence beyond that available to single individuals and by helping existing leaders learn the importance of sharing the power to achieve community goals (Pigg, 2002). Therefore, social, political, legal and economic obstacles to the exercise of individual influence must be removed, and attractions or events that facilitate interaction between community members must be developed (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Pigg, 2002).

Social disempowerment refers to the condition where there is disharmony within the community, loss of respect for community culture, and unhealthy competition among local tourism industry members (Scheyvens, 1999; Weng & Peng, 2014). It may occur if tourist activity results in crime, begging, perceptions of crowding, displacement from traditional lands, loss of authenticity, or prostitution (Mansperger, 1993 as cited at Scheyvens, 1999). Inequities in tourism benefit distribution often lead to jealousy (Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield & Birtles, 1996).

## **Political empowerment**

Scheyvens (1999) fourth dimension, political empowerment, can be regarded as empowerment in a sense Sofield (2003) discussed it. It is a shift in the balance between the powerful and the powerless, between the dominant and the dependant (Sofield, 2003). In tourism, political empowerment is about a community's ability to control the direction, level, and type of tourism development in their area (Boley et al., 2015; Scheyvens, 1999). It implies that community voices and concerns guide, or

are included, in tourism development, from planning to implementation (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Scheyvens, 1999). At the individual level, political empowerment is when community members have access to political decision-making and that they have outlets to share their concerns about tourism development (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Scheyvens, 1999). Sofield and Li (2007) argue that *legal empowerment* is also an important part of political empowerment, particularly in indigenous communities. Legal empowerment recognises that a community is an institution that should maintain rights to control the land, to make rules, and to establish mechanisms to enforce these rules. Political disempowerment occurs when most members are not involved or do not have a voice in decision-making (Scheyvens, 1999).

In tourism development at the local level, there is a need to form a community-based decision-making forum. This may be an existing traditional, governing institution or a specially formed group such as a tourism committee, to act on behalf of the community and express community interests (Scheyvens, 2002). To ensure that community interests are represented in the development, diverse interest groups within the community, including women, youth, and other disadvantaged groups, should have representation in the forum (Scheyvens, 1999). As argued by Weng and Peng (2014), one path to increase community empowerment is to address villagers' needs according to different types, rather than to generalise a community as a whole since there will be different abilities, resources, and demands that influence individuals' attitudes toward empowerment. If a community is to be politically empowered by tourism, their voices and concerns should guide the tourism development from an early to the implementation stage. They also should receive ongoing education related to tourism development (Guevara, 1996 as cited in Scheyvens, 2002).

Political disempowerment often occurs when a local leader is being autocratic and limits community opportunity to be involved in tourism planning or decision-making process (Scheyvens, 1999; Weng & Peng, 2014). Lack of community involvement in the decision-making process will lead to a "sense of powerlessness" among community members since they have little or no say over whether the tourism initiative operates or the way in which it operates (Scheyvens, 1999). In addition, a lack of experience in the decision-making process could reduce community intention and interest to participate in the process (Scheyvens, 2002).

### **The relationship between community empowerment dimensions**

Several researchers have suggested that empowerment dimensions can influence one another (Boley et al., 2015; Boley & McGehee, 2014; Charnley, 2005; Maruyama et al., 2016b; Park & Kim, 2016; Scheyvens, 2002; Weng & Peng, 2014). For example, political empowerment is closely tied to psychological empowerment (Park & Kim, 2016; Scheyvens, 2002; Weng & Peng, 2014). Political power that allows local community members to become central decision-makers may lead to the generation of self-esteem and pride among the members since they have confidence that they have

an important role in decision-making (Park & Kim, 2016; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017). However, feeling dissatisfied with the forum structure and function can make member not want to participate in the decision-making process (Scheyvens, 2002).

Economic empowerment is connected to social (Boley et al., 2014; Scheyvens, 1999) and political empowerment (Boley et al., 2014). To some extent, social empowerment occurs when profits from tourism are used to fund public facilities (e.g., water supply systems or health clinics) in a local area (Scheyvens, 1999). In some cases, access to employment and cash (economic empowerment) enhances community status since that can lead to financial independence for marginalised groups (e.g., women) and release from traditional social control (Cole, 2007; Scheyvens, 2002). However, inequity in the distribution of tourism benefits, particularly economic, can lead to social disempowerment through feelings of ill will and jealousy (Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield & Birtles, 1996). Scheyvens (1999) argues further that when communities benefit economically from tourism, they are more likely to be interested in participating in tourism organisations to promote and achieve development goals and community well-being. In turn, a lack of political power could limit the opportunities to get tourism revenue (e.g., the opportunity to obtain jobs and training in the tourism sector) (Charnley, 2005). In addition, Park and Kim (2016) underline that the improvement of community cohesion makes the community able to raise a collective voice and opinion in decision-making, which demonstrates its enhanced political empowerment.

Following from the previous discussion, the literature indicates that enhancing one empowerment dimension can enhance other dimensions (Ayscue, Boley, Maruyama, & Woosnam, 2016; Boley, Ayscue, Maruyama, & Woosnam, 2017; Maruyama et al., 2016b; Park & Kim, 2016). For example, Ayscue et al. (2016) and Boley et al. (2017) find in Virginia, USA, and Oizumi, Japan, respectively, that by enhancing political empowerment a community gains the economic benefits of tourism; it fosters community cohesion and enhances community pride and self-esteem so that members feel proud of sharing with visitors. Maruyama et al. (2016b), who based their study in Oizumi, Japan, indicate that to nurture positive attitudes in those who receive fewer economic benefits from tourism, stakeholders need to focus on empowering them in social and psychological aspects. Empowering local residents, economically, psychologically, socially, and politically, is important to influence their attitudes towards, and support of, tourism development (Boley et al., 2015; Boley & McGehee, 2014).

The connections between the four-empowerment dimensions raise the question why one dimension is more prevalent than another or is tied to another (Boley et al., 2015; Boley & McGehee, 2014; Timothy, 1999). The studies above were conducted in developed countries (USA, Japan, Australia), so in attempting to answer those questions in a developing country context, this study will analyse the extent and nature of community empowerment in Indonesia (a developing country) and how tourism influences empowerment and its outcomes.

### 2.3.2 Community empowerment as a process

As a process, community empowerment refers to the transfer of power or control to others, both individuals and communities (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Pigg, 2002; Sadan, 2004; Zimmerman, 1995). Power, in the empowerment context, refers to the ability of an actor, individual or collective, to affect the actions of another. However, there is no effective way to transfer the power directly; instead, one can transfer *power resources* to another (Pigg, 2002). In relation to empowerment through tourism, Knight and Cottrell (2016) suggest four frameworks of power in a community: 'power over', 'power to', 'power with' and 'power within'. **Power over (domination)** is the increased ability to control others through overt or covert coercion (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). 'Power over' regards power as something of which there is a finite amount in a closed system (Simons & Groot, 2015).

Lukes (1974) elaborates three dimensions of *power over*. The first is a power to deal with access to, and control over, resources (e.g., information, money, skill) on which others depend. This power often can increase individual empowerment, but it does not necessarily lead to community empowerment. For example, individuals who receive training would gain more power in the community, but the community as a whole might not benefit from them (Simons & Groot, 2015). The second dimension is control over decision-making processes (Lukes, 1974). Marginalised people or groups often do not have access to decision-making arenas. Decision-making and agenda setting are often part of a hidden power struggle. The third dimension is the power that is exercised to make people conform to their disadvantaged positions via values, norms, and ideology (Lukes, 1974). Unlike the first two dimensions, this is about avoiding conflict. Dominant interest groups legitimise their demands and delegitimise the demands of others by managing meaning, e.g., by complimenting people on actions that confirm their role. This process, in which dominant groups see others as irrational and weak, is common in tourism. Within tourism, this power dimension can be asserted by tourists and external tourism advisors, by labelling local communities as romantic and exotic or uneducated, which would encourage the people to stay in their underprivileged positions of "the other" (Simons & Groot, 2015), and by pre-existing cultural norms and values (Cole, 2007; Reisinger & Turner, 2003).

'Power to' (agency) is a process to increase an individual's ability to exist or to act as one wishes. It creates or unlocks opportunities without domination but is still socially-dependent (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). 'Power to' is described as something that can grow, such as personal confidence and abilities. However, to achieve social change as community empowerment implies, the *power to* might not be enough (Simons & Groot, 2015). 'Power with' (collectivity) is a process to increase a community's ability to address group needs or interests collectively (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). Lastly, 'power within' (self-awareness) is a process to increase people's awareness of political and social conditions, especially as a precursor to challenging inequalities of opportunity, self-determination, and respect. In this way, power could potentially give marginalised stakeholders, including community members,



the ability to control valuable resources and to secure returns from tourism. It also might allow them greater political self-determination and willingness to be involved in sustainable tourism operations (Li & Hunter, 2015).

Empowerment is an ongoing and fluctuating process, which means both the empowerment process and its components continue to evolve to cope with each new type of powerlessness in a new environment and era (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017; Arai, 1997; Hur, 2006). In other words, there are many challenges and factors that influence the empowerment process, including internal factors (e.g., individual characteristics, knowledge) (Knight & Cottrell, 2016) and external factors (e.g., outside stakeholders, and [changing] regulation) (Cole, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Maruyama et al., 2016a; Pigg, 2002; Sadan, 2004; Weng & Peng, 2014).

Local community involvement in tourism planning has been seen as a tool to achieve community empowerment (Moscardo, Schurmann, Konovalov, & McGehee, 2013; Park & Kim, 2016; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017; Scheyvens, 1999; Thomas & Middleton, 2003; Timothy, 2007). If the community is involved in tourism planning, the argument goes, stakeholders can develop a broader vision regarding how their activities fit into the big picture, so they can determine how to coordinate with each other to reduce internal competition and conflict (Li & Hunter, 2015). Community involvement can lead to the identification and resolution of problems and a greater understanding of, and support for, sustainable tourism development (Park & Kim, 2016). It can facilitate the execution of tourism plans through collective responsibility, which makes decisions more legitimate and easier to implement (Li & Hunter, 2015). Moscardo et al. (2013), however, argue that failure to involve local residents in tourism planning could result in conflict and inappropriate forms of tourism, which further inhibits community opportunities to be empowered by tourism development.

Thomas and Middleton (2003) define the lowest level of community involvement in decision-making as “**Informed,**” with **imposed development**; the lowest level in degrees of empowerment (Timothy, 2007). At this level, planning is done and is carried out by central authorities (i.e., a top-down approach), and the community only receives information about the programme. Decision-makers rarely involve the community in the decision process, and so the voices and opinions of local people, community stakeholders, and residents are not heard.

One step up from informed is **consulted** (Thomas & Middleton, 2003), which is the lowest level of community power (Swarbrooke, 1999 as cited in Aref, Redzuan, & Gill, 2010), or the second degree of empowerment proposed by Timothy (2007) as “**tokenistic involvement.**” At this level, external stakeholders start to involve the community in decision-making. However, the latter’s involvement is only via consultation to satisfy external observers’ demands for community participation and, to a lesser extent, minimises dissent among community members (Thomas & Middleton, 2003; Timothy,

2007). Local communities receive information about the programme or plan, their views are sought but not necessarily acted upon (Thomas & Middleton, 2003), or their expressed views do not significantly influence the plan (Aref et al., 2010).

The highest level of community power occurs when communities have total control of the strategic policy and tactical decisions about tourism in their area (Aref et al., 2010) and become responsible for setting the agenda and implementing the decisions which they take (Thomas & Middleton, 2003). This level is similar to “**empowerment**” (Timothy, 2007). It represents the top of the participation ladder where community members are active agents of change, and they can find solutions to their problems, make decisions, implement actions, and evaluate their solutions (Cole, 2006).

To conclude, the community empowerment process involves the transfer of power from one to another, both individuals and communities. This process, in a tourism context, will involve all key stakeholders in tourism development, each of which will have their own role.

### **Tourism stakeholders as external agents in community empowerment**

As mentioned in Section 2.2, in the development context there will be an individual or group that can affect or be affected by the development – these are termed stakeholders (Freeman, 1984). This section will discuss the stakeholders involved in, and factors influencing, the community empowerment process in a tourism context.

As outlined above, several factors that influence the community empowerment process are individual characteristics, knowledge, and community culture (see Section 2.4.2). Related to individual characteristics of willpower and perseverance, personalities have a crucial role in empowerment in tourism (Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Pigg, 2002). For example, people need to have a will to gain benefits from tourism by themselves and not wait for others to give it to them, and to have the courage to voice their opinion and make their voice heard by the decision-makers. Age is another personal factor that could influence empowerment in tourism. It can be an obstacle to community empowerment, e.g., the elderly tend to be marginalised from tourism activities, or they marginalise themselves (Dolezal, 2015).

Knowledge is an essential element in community empowerment, both at the individual and community level. Access to relevant information and knowledge is important to make appropriate decisions about tourism development (Cole, 2006; Perrot-Lanaud et al., 2005; Pigg, 2002).

Knowledge can be defined as “actionable information, available in the right format, at the right time, and the right place for decision-making” (Scott et al., 2008, p. 41). Information and knowledge are needed so that a community understands what it is making decisions about (Sofield, 2003).

Improvement of community knowledge and understanding of the prevailing conditions could prepare a community to challenge outside and elitist interests in tourist destinations and the

decisions they are asked to make (Sofield, 2003; Tosun & Timothy, 2003). Knowledge also helps people to think and act in new ways (Moscardo, 2008) and increases their awareness of tourism (e.g., the risk and the opportunities), which may lead to higher levels of empowerment (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Byrd, 2007; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Garrod, 2003; He et al., 2008; Scheyvens, 1999; Timothy, 2007; Tosun, 2000; Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

Scholars have indicated that a lack of tourism knowledge is a critical barrier in achieving community empowerment in tourism development since it limits an individual's or community's abilities and opportunities to participate in tourism development, including in decision-making, and limits tourism benefits (Cole, 2006, 2007; Moscardo, 2008; Ramos & Prideaux, 2014; Scheyvens, 2002). The literature indicates that a community's lack of knowledge is often caused by information asymmetry, which influences community empowerment (Han, Wu, Huang, & Yang, 2014; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Moscardo, 2008; Weng & Peng, 2014). Asymmetrical information occurs when certain people have greater access to information than others, which then leads to domination by these people (Moscardo, 2008; Weng & Peng, 2014) since they have greater power and more complete information to control common resources (Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Moscardo, 2008; Weng & Peng, 2014). In this way, a lack of experience in formal decision-making or a lack of knowledge of the 'technical discourse' of tourism may discourage community members from participating (Scheyvens, 2002). Therefore, there is a need to enhance people's awareness of their rights and improve their knowledge through better access to information, which a community needs to understand tourism processes; the first stage of empowering local community development (Arai, 1997; Cole, 2006).

Knowledge can be enhanced by pursuing higher education and training; providing opportunities are available. In tourism and community empowerment, scholars often relate education to women's empowerment (Nwosu, 2014); an improvement to the quality of tourism activities and tourism services (tourist focus) (Skanavis & Giannoulis, 2010; Wang, 2010; Zanotti & Chernela, 2008); and economic empowerment (Butler, 2016; Charnley, 2005). Education is an asset for empowerment since it gives people greater access to information that could improve their capacity to find alternative options and develop greater expectations related to tourism development (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Cole, 2006). Education allows learners to acquire the skills, capacities, values, and knowledge required to ensure sustainable development (Perrot-Lanaud et al., 2005). Limited awareness of tourism can contribute to false expectations about tourism's benefits and a lack of preparedness for changes resulting from tourism (Hall et al. 2005 cited in Moscardo, 2008). Therefore, community knowledge to manage benefits from tourism development needs to be developed before tourism begins (Moscardo, 2014).

In a tourism context, stakeholders may be involved as external agents in community empowerment. The literature indicates that support and active participation by external stakeholders are factors,

among others, that support (or hinder) sustainable tourism development (Blackman et al., 2004; Kontogeorgopoulos, Churyen, & Duangsaeng, 2014; Moscardo, 2005; Wilson, Fesenmaier, Fesenmaier, & Van Es, 2001). External tourism stakeholders have a role as change agents (Sadan, 2004) and sources of support (Steiner & Farmer, 2017). These stakeholders can act as facilitators to link individuals or communities to development, and to support action and participation through encouragement and a continuing facilitation effort (Arai, 1997; Timothy, 2007). External stakeholders in tourism are generally in several categories: government at different levels, non-government organisations (NGOs), tourism industry, educational institutions, tourists, and local communities (United Nations Environment Programme & Organization, 2002).

Support from both local and central government for community empowerment in tourism development is a *pre-condition* for development since it sets the context and ground rules that influence all other parts of the process as they regulate what can and cannot be done (Drumm & Moore, 2005; Macbeth et al., 2008; Moscardo, 2005; Ruhanen, 2013; Scheyvens, 2002; Sofield & Li, 2007; Zeppel, 2006). For example, infrastructure investment policies of the government control whether basic infrastructure will be developed in a community to a stage regarded as adequate or attractive to potential tourism developers (Drumm & Moore, 2005; Scheyvens, 2002).

For that reason, central government plays a crucial role in community empowerment since it can create or support mechanisms at the lower levels to facilitate effective empowerment (Weng & Peng, 2014). The central government has a role as a leader to coordinate tourism development at the national level since it holds a higher level of power to mandate activities (Drumm & Moore, 2005; Li & Hunter, 2015). Literature suggests that governments in developing countries tend to take a more obvious role in decision-making in tourism development than in developed countries (Timothy, 1998; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Zeppel, 2006). However, too much of government power might lead to disempowering conditions for the local community, because the members may feel that development planning is the government's duty so they cannot take the initiative (Timothy, 1999). In addition, governments often make decisions that favour dominant segments of the community and discriminate already under-represented groups (Garrod, 2003). This problem is more serious in developing countries where local tourism planners may lack expertise, time, or money to conduct a participatory planning process in an equitable way (Garrod, 2003; Timothy, 1999).

To support governance at the national level, there is a need for a strong, effective local government (Gorica, Kripa, & Zenelaj, 2012). The local government has a similar role to central government (e.g., to provide and enforce local regulations, and to provide communities with strategic direction) (Drumm & Moore, 2005; Gorica et al., 2012). It is the stakeholder that is generally nearest the community (Gorica et al., 2012), and often has the mandate to represent the interests of the wider

community since its members are elected as representatives of local residents (Ruhanen, 2013). Therefore, it is assumed that they will know about the community and its resources, both natural and cultural, better than other external stakeholders (Gorica et al., 2012). Consequently, it may be the first stakeholder to promote and support - or the first to discourage - community empowerment through tourism (Gorica et al., 2012). For example, favouritism by a local leader could cause a lack of enforcement of regulations for a certain community group, which can undermine the quality of tourism and the benefits it could bring to a community (Scheyvens, 2002). Ruhanen (2013) suggests that power struggles, tokenistic public participation, and strongly influential local government inhibit the realisation of sustainable tourism development.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) also play an important role in community empowerment through their interaction with local communities and tourism stakeholders, particularly in a developing country context. NGOs may support community empowerment by enhancing community members' skills through education or training and being sources of relevant information, expertise, or financial support that other institutions involved in tourism (Drumm & Moore, 2005; Nikkhah & Redzuan, 2010; Scheyvens, 2002). However, excessive involvement by NGOs in tourism management may have negative effects on empowerment as communities become accustomed to little personal involvement and come to rely on outside patronage (Gordillo Jordan, Hunt, Stronza, & Durham, 2008). For example, NGOs often provide tourism services such as tour operations or lodging, transportation and food services that may take away opportunities from community-based industries or the private tourism sector (Drumm & Moore, 2005).

Another stakeholder, the tourism industry, involves a variety of people or groups both within and beyond a community that work in tourism (e.g., entrepreneurs; tour operators, travel agents; owners and employees of transportation, accommodation and restaurants; handicraft makers; tour guides) (Cole, 2007; Simpson, 2001). Their motivation to be involved in tourism development, generally, is to pursue financial profit (economic empowerment) (Drumm & Moore, 2005). In some cases, this motivation enhances community empowerment, however, in other cases, it leads to disempowerment since it may cause competition (social disempowerment) between community groups (Cole, 2007; Moscardo, 2005). For example, the emergence of local entrepreneurs could result in conflict and competition since tourism developments often favour local families that have capital and expertise, raising issues of inequity in access to tourism funds and benefits (Moscardo, 2005). The tourism industry also has tremendous resources and power to shape tourism destinations because the industry provides a link between the consumer and the destination (Cole, 2007; Drumm & Moore, 2005; Li & Hunter, 2015). Therefore, to achieve sustainable tourism development, the industry has to contribute to the regions in which they live and/or operate by facilitating and developing community capacity for continuous local involvement (e.g., by establishing an

opportunity structure that empowers community members with knowledge, confidence, and the tools needed to exert a meaningful influence) (Li & Hunter, 2015; Macbeth et al., 2008).

Tourists is another group of stakeholder with a role in community empowerment in tourism development since they can motivate the community to become involved in the tourism industry or to alter their involvement (Dolezal, 2015; Drumm & Moore, 2005). Tourists often interact with tourism industry members and sometimes with the local community at the destination. The interaction could bring long-term benefits since it gives the community an opportunity to hone residents' skills (e.g., language skills), develop a desire to work with others, and connect them to the wider world (Cole, 2007). The value that tourists place on local natural and cultural resources, in turn, can increase the recognition of resources' value among local residents (Ashley & Roe, 1998), which will affect community pride and self-esteem (Scheyvens, 1999).

To enable community empowerment, stakeholders have to work in co-operative and coordinated ways, which means they have to build relationships among different groups and identify the common goals, despite holding differing values and having different expectations, experiences and interpretations of tourism development (Drumm & Moore, 2005; Lim & Sirimanne, 2011; Nash & Martin, 2003). In terms of community empowerment, coordination is needed to ensure participation by all parties (Hatipoglu et al., 2016; Tosun, 2000). When stakeholders, including the community, participate, they can determine "who is doing what" to prevent an overlap or gap in stakeholder roles and programmes and also ensure that their plans are matched with those of others, particularly with community needs, giving greater guarantee to their execution (Cao, 2015; Drumm & Moore, 2005; Faulkner, 2001; Fonseca & Ramos, 2012; Jiang & Ritchie, 2017; Lim & Sirimanne, 2011; Nash & Martin, 2003; Setiawan & Kusmawan, 2016).

The literature indicates that stakeholder coordination is often related to culture (see Section 2.4.2) and leadership. In many societies, tourism planning is often seen as something that leaders do for the benefit of those who are under their authority. Thus, a strong leader would be needed to achieve effective stakeholder coordination (Lim & Sirimanne, 2011). Leadership is a crucial factor since it is a foundation for tourism development (Moscardo, 2005). Moreover, the need for effective local leadership tends to increase when a bottom-up approach is applied (Garrod, 2003), as a leader has an important role in increasing community participation in tourism development by reaching out and learning from the members, particularly those who are isolated or less central within a community network. The leader has the ability to include a wide range of people in tourism decision-making (Hwang & Stewart, 2016; McGehee, Knollenberg, & Komorowski, 2015; Moscardo, 2005). The leader also has to be able to reconcile conflicting views and desires and gain residents' trust by demonstrating a willingness to advance community interests as a whole (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014).

A leader should have an ability to build bridging networks (i.e., the network between community and other stakeholders) and bonding networks (i.e., the network between community members), particularly in multicultural communities and communities in rural areas (Hwang & Stewart, 2016; McGehee et al., 2015). A leader has an important role also in ensuring the distribution of tourism benefits and the equity of access to tourism resources for the whole community, particularly in peripheral regions (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014; Moscardo, 2005). However, despite the importance of leadership in community empowerment in tourism development, compared with other fields and disciplines, relatively little work has been done on leadership and governance in community empowerment in rural tourism (McGehee et al., 2015).

Empowerment is not only achieved through the help of others (external stakeholders) but can also arise from within the individual. Self-empowerment can be defined as deriving the strength to do something through one's own thoughts and based on the belief that one knows what is best for oneself. Kögler (1996) explained that self-empowerment is a complex concept that encompasses self-determination, self-realisation, and self-consciousness. Self-determination is defined as the capacity of agents to control their own actions, while self-realisation is the capacity to choose and to actualise the form of life they wish. Self-consciousness is defined as the capacity to see through distorting and limiting schemes of understanding in order to determine one's life and realise their potential. For example, the Kuna community who are poorer and have worse health outcomes than other Panamanians, designed the Kuna General Congress' Statute on Tourism in Kuna Yala to help the Kuna generate much-needed income while minimising the problems that visitors bring (Snow, 2001). The Statute is the latest determined effort by the Kuna to define their own terms for interaction with outsiders, and gain a measure of control over the burgeoning tourist industry. The Statute represents an effort at self-determination by an indigenous people to direct the tourism industry to the needs of the entire Kuna nation (Snow, 2001).

Another example of self-empowerment has come from the Waluma community in Papua New Guinea. The Waluma community could be described as peripheral, non-monetised, and reliant on subsistence farming for their livelihood, with little experience of the outside world and no previous experience as a host community. In order to improve their welfare, the community initiated a community-based ecotourism project, and apart from advice from external stakeholders, no external financial assistance was given. While this initiative has taken place in a non-monetised economy, the project has contributed to community welfare, generated economic benefits. It has also delivered positive conservation outcomes and, from the viewpoint of the community, has had no adverse cultural impact (Sakata & Prideaux, 2013). One of the keys for success was the development of a strong community agency that generated high community participation and individual, rather than community, ownership (Sakata & Prideaux, 2013).

A third example comes from Samoan communities who embraced the concept of sustainable tourism in ways that directly reflected respect for the well-being of Samoan people, rather than merely adopting sustainable tourism (Scheyvens, 2005). These Samoan communities incorporated their social and cultural traditions (known as Fa'a Samoa, or the Samoan way) in the tourism development process. In this process, the community takes a guarded approach to control tourism. For example, the community only allows authentic craft items (e.g., traditional tapa cloth) for the Samoan people's own use and ceremonial exchange, even though many modified craft items are offered for sale to tourists. In essence, the community actually has the ability and capacity to decide what they want and control the tourism development in the area. The role and relationship of external stakeholders and self-empowerment in community empowerment process is shown in Figure 2.1.

Empowerment is an ongoing, fluctuating process (Arai, 1997). As a result, the role of external agents changes with the unique process of empowerment of each individual or community. CDX & Changes (2008) note that community empowerment is not just about communities changing as they 'become empowered', but also about stakeholders changing the way they work, to take more 'empowering approaches'. To empower a community, stakeholders should not only aim to improve residents' skills and knowledge and increase their confidence so they can take part in tourism and decision-making, but they also have to recognise the differences or discrimination that exists in a community, and address this in their interactions by promoting equality of opportunity and good relationships between groups, and challenging inequality and exclusion (CDX & Changes, 2008).

The opportunity structure is shaped by the presence and operation of formal and informal institutions, or the rules of the game including laws, regulations, norms, and customs governing people's behaviour (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Knight & Cottrell, 2016). Sound and encouraging regulations are needed to ensure equal opportunities for all groups within the community to access resources are essential (Cao, 2015; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Sofield & Li, 2007). However, there is often duplication, a lack of regulation (Setiawan & Kusmawan, 2016) or many contradictory policies and confusion over regulations (Clifton, 2013).



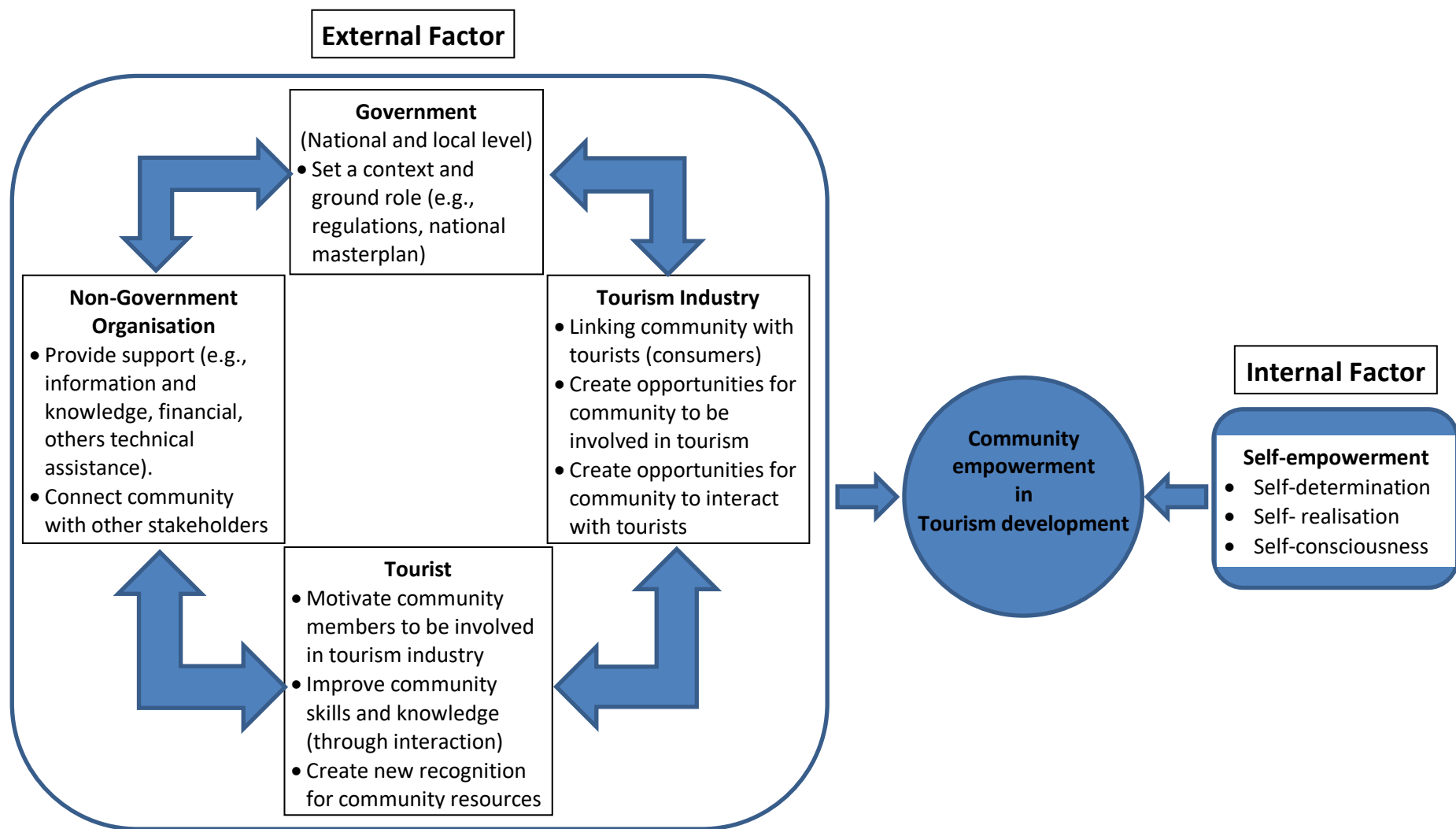


Figure 2.1 Tourism stakeholders' and self-empowerment role in community empowerment (Cole, 2007; Drumm & Moore, 2005; Gorica et al., 2012; Kögler, 1996; Macbeth et al., 2008; Moscardo, 2005; Nikkhah & Redzuan, 2010; Ruhanen, 2013; Scheyvens, 2002; Sofield & Li, 2007; Zeppel, 2006).

To support community empowerment, sometimes there is a need to change power structures to allow reallocation of power to remove the barriers that prevent people from participating in the issues affecting their lives (CDX & Changes, 2008; Sofield, 2003). Weng and Peng (2014) study shows that if the political institutions or power structures do not change, particularly a structure that has unbalanced power relations, it can result in a sense of powerlessness in the community caused by a lack of confidence, apathy and indifference amongst villagers toward the political conditions it will fail to ensure community interest. The literature also suggests that if stakeholders are working to enhance community empowerment outcomes, they have to involve community members as a priority in programme planning, implementation, and evaluation (Zimmerman, 1995).

## **2.4 Limiting factors to community empowerment**

This section discusses the limitations and challenges faced to achieve community empowerment, particularly in a developing country. It is divided into four sub-sections. First, it discusses limitations for community empowerment in a developing countries context. Then it outlines the relations between cultural constructs and community empowerment in tourism. The third section describes issues surrounding women's empowerment in the tourism context, and the final section discusses the influence of peripherality on community empowerment.

### **2.4.1 Limitation of community empowerment in tourism development in developing countries context**

As stated above, empowerment is a Western cultural notion, and the majority of analyses of the concept have taken a western-centric view (Sadan, 2004), despite the often-stated value of empowerment to solve issues faced by developing countries (Ayesha, n.d; Harris et al., 2009; United Nations, 2018). The literature suggests several factors which may limit community empowerment in developing countries, including a lack of involvement in the tourism industry and in tourism planning or decision-making process (Aref, 2011; Cole, 2006, 2007; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Fuller, Buultjens, & Cummings, 2005; Goodwin, 2002; Hatipoglu et al., 2016; Kiss, 2004; Klimmek, 2013; Park & Kim, 2016; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000). Factors that limit community opportunity to be involved in the tourism industry and decision-making process include a lack of information and knowledge, elite domination, discouraging legal frameworks and lack of leadership, and cultural factors (see Section 2.4.2) (Aref, 2011; Cole, 2006, 2007; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Fuller et al., 2005; Goodwin, 2002; Hatipoglu et al., 2016; Kiss, 2004; Klimmek, 2013; Park & Kim, 2016; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000). Another crucial factor that limits involvement in the tourism industry is a lack of capital (Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Fuller et al., 2005; Goodwin, 2002; Kiss, 2004; Klimmek, 2013; Ramos & Prideaux, 2014; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995).

While scholars have suggested that knowledge is a crucial factor in achieving community empowerment (see Section 2.3.2), communities in developing countries, particularly in rural areas, often have lower levels of education and skills than those who live in urban areas (Ayesha, n.d; Harris et al., 2009; United Nations, 2018). Lack of access to information (e.g., access to education, insufficient tourism publications) might cause a lack of knowledge that affects community empowerment (Cole, 2007; Goodwin, 2002; Han et al., 2014; Pasape, Anderson, & Lindi, 2014; Ramos & Prideaux, 2014). Studies show that lack of information and knowledge could limit community opportunities in undertaking ecotourism ventures (Ramos & Prideaux, 2014) and prevent them from benefiting from tourism development (Han et al., 2014). To overcome this barrier, scholars have suggested several ways to increase community knowledge, namely through education and knowledge transfer from tourism researchers who can take an active role in disseminating information (Cole, 2006; Pasape et al., 2014). It has been suggested that this education, including training programmes, could encourage communities to become more involved in tourism development as both entrepreneurs and employees (Petrić, 2007).

An issue often present during the tourism planning process in developing countries relates to elite domination, with the community voices often not heard, and the discussion limited to business elites, state elites or foreign institutions (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Charnley, 2005; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; He et al., 2008; Richards & Hall, 2000; Tosun, 2000). When the power in the planning process is held by a certain stakeholder, it is likely that influential stakeholder will secure better access to the resources at the expenses of others (Scheyvens, 2002). The dominant elites within the community often use their superiority to grasp political power and get their interests reflected in policies and actions (Narayanan, 2003) and furthermore constrain the equal distribution of benefits (Charnley, 2005; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000).

National regulation is another important factor in community empowerment since it defines the opportunities structure in community empowerment (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Cole, 2007; Lenao & Basupi, 2016). However, some developing countries experience an absence of regulation related to community empowerment (Harris et al., 2009; Lenao & Basupi, 2016; United Nations, 2018).

As stated above, leadership is a critical factor in the community empowerment process (see Section 2.3.2). However, at the community level, local leaders often have poor negotiation skills that could disempower communities from undertaking tourism ventures (Ramos & Prideaux, 2014). While culture can support community empowerment (Cole, 2006, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; Thammajinda, 2013), there is strong evidence that the cultures of developing countries contain values and norms that restrict the participation of at least some community members (Bith, 2011; Dolezal, 2015; Raub & Robert, 2013; Thammajinda, 2013) (see Section 2.4.2).

Limited economic resources or lack of capital is another factor that can disempower a community, or restrict it from undertaking tourism ventures. Generally, the local community often have resource limitations while outsiders have more financial resources, enabling them to acquire more power in the tourism industry (Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Fuller et al., 2005; Goodwin, 2002; Kiss, 2004; Klimmek, 2013; Ramos & Prideaux, 2014; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). For example, Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995) study in Pangandaran, West Java, Indonesia, show that non-locals who have more capital to invest and more skills related to tourism services can gain higher economic empowerment compared to most local people. As time passes, these non-locals have come to dominate the upper and middle classes of the village.

In a developing country context, it seems that the focus on empowering communities is disproportionately focused on economic empowerment (McMillan et al., 2011; Movono & Dahles, 2017), while in developed countries, empowerment tends to encompass a range of empowering outcomes, including psychological empowerment (Boley et al., 2014; Boley, Strzelecka, & Watson, 2018; Kim & George, 2005; Maruyama et al., 2015; Maruyama et al., 2016b; Salazar, Pfaffenberg, & Salazar, 2006). The implications of this are a lack of understanding of other dimensions of community empowerment in developing countries, despite the known relationship between different forms of empowerment. For example, in Fiji, empowerment began with economic empowerment, then grew gradually to include social, psychological, and political empowerment (Movono & Dahles, 2017). In Nepal, increasing levels of economic empowerment had the greatest positive effect on the empowerment of women in the region (McMillan et al., 2011). In China, Weng and Peng (2014) suggest a way to enhance community empowerment by placing the enhancement of psychological power at the core of community empowerment. In another case, in Nepal, to some extent the political dimension was pivotal to the ultimate sustainability of social change. However, improvement in political empowerment relies on the active involvement of national and local political structures to communicate and ensure gender equality (McMillan et al., 2011).

Aside from limiting factors described above, research in developing countries indicates that interaction with outsiders is a factor that could support community empowerment; this is rarely present in a developed country (Lortanavanit, 2009; Marcinek & Hunt, 2015). For example, interaction with foreign tourists could increase community knowledge to manage the resources for tourism development (Lortanavanit, 2009); this provides a solid base for future sustainable tourism development (Marcinek & Hunt, 2015).

Furthermore, in developing countries, the type of tourism implemented in an area can influence community empowerment (Bith, 2011; Chen, Li, & Li, 2017; Lapeyre, 2011; Marcinek & Hunt, 2015; Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010). For example, it is argued in Ecuador that community-

based tourism that focuses on achieving certain key objectives (e.g., ensuring that communities have control over tourist activity) can potentially empower communities (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernández-Ramírez, 2010). While an ecotourism project's roots in an indigenous women's association, which is included in a machismo-dominated society offers space to connect social capital and gender empowerment (Marcinek & Hunt, 2015), it should be noted that these tourism forms are often context-related and culturally specific so that further systematic studies in other contexts are required to better inform policy-makers (Lapeyre, 2011).

To conclude, while literature has suggested that tourism has the potential to empower a community, the research in developing countries indicate the existence of several issues that may limit the application of the concept of empowerment.

#### **2.4.2 Cultural constructs and community empowerment in tourism development**

As mentioned in the previous section, culture can be a limiting factor in community empowerment in tourism development in a developing country context; this section will discuss the relationship between culture and community empowerment in more detail. Many studies have examined the role of culture in facilitating or limiting community empowerment through the tourism planning process and in the outcomes of tourism (Cole, 2007; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012; Maruyama et al., 2016a). Local culture can be a resource for sustainable tourism, particularly for community-based tourism (Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012), however even in contexts where a community controls and 'owns' the tourism development, local realities characterised by differential power structures and restrictive cultural norms and values can still limit its development and the equitable sharing of benefits (Dolezal, 2015; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000). For example, in Indonesia, most communities follow a certain traditional way of life called *adat*. The term '*adat*' refers to customs, traditions, rules, or practices that guide social life and decision-making and outline obligations and expectations for social and economic relationships (Alison & Nobles, 2009; Forshee, 2006). Thus, *adat* is one factor that can influence community empowerment in tourism development in this country. For most Indonesians, *adat* is the appropriate way to do things, including daily social interactions, and law enforcement (Forshee, 2006).

The literature indicates that community culture, including power and cultural and political traditions leading to limited desire for involvement or apathy amongst some residents, could inhibit the potential of community empowerment, as it limits residents' interest or intentions to be involved in planning (Braden & Mayo, 1999; Cole, 2006, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; Dombroski, 2006; Hatipoglu et al., 2016; Hwang & Stewart, 2016; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Thammajinda, 2013; Tosun, 2000; Weng & Peng, 2014). Powerlessness is often interpreted as passivity and indifference, but the real problem may be lack of opportunity for direct involvement because of the local power structure

(Midgley, 1986 as cited at Tosun & Timothy, 2003). A community that holds a value which avoids uncertainty and confrontation, where security and stability are valued above ambiguity and conflict, causes people to be reluctant to voice their opinion if they think it will cause conflict with others (Cole, 2007; Reisinger & Turner, 2003).

As defined in Section 2.3.1, empowerment in tourism development can be reflected in an increase in collective action to address group needs or interests collectively (Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Sadan, 2004). However, it is a challenge to implement this in a community that consists of many interests or ethnic groups, or in a multicultural community with strong collectivism values (such as Indonesia – see Chapter Four) (Batson, Ahmad, & Tsang, 2002). In a strong collective culture, community members care more about the good of the in-group with which they identify (e.g., families, friends, neighbours, workgroups), which involves recognition also of an out-group (Batson et al., 2002). The “in-groups and out-groups” cultural perspective emphasises a clear distinction between those who belong to a group and those who do not, which often restricts who can participate in activities and decisions of a particular group (Batson et al., 2002; Reisinger & Turner, 2003). This condition becomes problematic if the concern to meet ‘in-group’ members’ needs leads to indifference to non-members’ needs (Batson et al., 2002).

Collectivism also could affect the opportunity structure to be involved in the tourism industry (Dolezal, 2015; Hwang & Stewart, 2016; Knight & Cottrell, 2016). In a collective culture, the quality of one’s relationships affects the opportunity to participate in tourism development. For example, the closer one’s relationship with a community leader, the more likely one is to be involved in tourism activities (Hwang & Stewart, 2016). The literature indicates that kinship or familial elitism, which is one collectivist characteristic, could challenge community empowerment since the thinking is usually aimed at preserving the interests of specific families instead of the wider community (Dolezal, 2015; Hwang & Stewart, 2016; Knight & Cottrell, 2016), leading to internal competition rather than collaboration and collective benefit (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). Culture also could influence community empowerment since it can have an important role in information distribution between community members (Guinée, 2014; Macbeth et al., 2008; Wahab & Cooper, 2005). In a collective culture, information sharing may be faster and more efficient when residents are connected through kinship ties (Hwang & Stewart, 2016).

Empowerment often requires an institutional change to allow a genuine reallocation of power or to at least enhance the power of traditionally marginalised groups (Ayscue et al., 2016; Boley et al., 2017; Scheyvens, 2002). Another cultural issue is faced by communities that have a “power distance” culture, where interpersonal relationships are arranged hierarchically, and power structures typically focus on referral and obedience to higher authority (Cole, 2006; Hofstede, Pedersen, & Hofstede,

2002). In this situation, a community is often afraid to take the initiative or challenge a higher authority's decisions. It becomes used to acting on instructions and does not feel empowered to act without being directed, which further hinders community members' willingness to voice opinions (Cole, 2007). Cole (2007) also notes that this cultural value hinders women's empowerment (see Section 2.4.3) since they are used to acting on men's instructions.

Empowerment is a complex process since norms can be simultaneously empowering and disempowering (Cole, 2007; Guinée, 2014; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Weng & Peng, 2014). Norms define what actions are considered acceptable or unacceptable and prevent opportunism in one-off encounters (Lyon, 2000). They help achieve harmony in society (Reisinger & Turner, 2003), and can be a tool for coordinating the actions of large numbers of people since they regulate what people could or could not do in certain situations (Biel & Thøgersen, 2007; Lejano & Fernandez de Castro, 2014; Moscardo et al., 2013). Generally, communities with strong traditions of norms and sanctions are likely to be ones with a history of effective collective action (Biel & Thøgersen, 2007; Moscardo et al., 2013), but often use their traditional informal rules or norms rather than state regulations (Mehring et al., 2011). This situation occurs because the norms were adapted to the local level or traditional rights and sanctions (Mehring et al., 2011); while state regulation has a lack of congruence with local conditions and may not recognise the unique characteristics existing in a region (Carson, Carson, & Hodge, 2014; Mehring et al., 2011; Setiawan & Kusmawan, 2016). Therefore, to support a community empowerment process, policymakers should consider cultural diversity and existing differences in perception and behaviour of communities to integrate flexible, distinct socio-cultural strategies into its management processes (Mehring et al., 2011).

In conclusion, empowerment and culture have a complex relationship. Therefore, there is a need to gain a deeper understanding of how culture affects community empowerment as a process and an outcome of tourism development in a developing country context.

### **2.4.3 Women's empowerment in tourism development**

Women's empowerment is one theme often discussed by scholars in a developing country context. Women's empowerment is defined as enabling women to take an equal place with men and participate equally in the development process to achieve control over the factors of production (Pleno, 2006; Scheyvens, 2000). Research conducted on this issue has shown that women are not simply victims of tourism development; they have also benefited from tourism activities (Moswete & Lacey, 2015; Movono & Dahles, 2017; Scheyvens, 2000; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995; Yahaya & Yahaya, 2014). In fact, tourism development is often viewed as an important tool for the empowerment of women (Brookes & Nwosu, 2014; Guinée, 2014; Jayaweera, 1997; Moswete & Lacey, 2015; Movono & Dahles, 2017; Pleno, 2006; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995; Yahaya & Yahaya, 2014).

Niatu (2007) discusses how Ni Vanuatu women have been self-empowered through the tourism development process economically, socially, psychologically, and politically. With respect to economic empowerment, women, in order to make an income from cruise ship passengers, started their business with little or no assistance. This shows that tourism can encourage an entrepreneurial spirit amongst disadvantaged groups, especially women. The money earned represents the family's main source of income in some cases, which is very important to their households. In terms of social empowerment, tourism activity was the catalyst for a new social network to form between women as they often did weaving and handicraft making *together*. This furthermore supports a communal spirit and encourages the traditional art of storytelling and the handing down of skills to younger generations. Concerning psychological empowerment, by being self-employed and gaining a new-found confidence in their social abilities, women who owned market stalls experienced very positive psychological impacts. They derived a sense of satisfaction from being in control of the money they earned. In other words, the social and psychological aspect of being their own boss and controlling their earnings was more rewarding than earning income alone. Lastly, their activities in selling items to cruise tourists also resulted in political empowerment, giving the women greater control over the way the money is spent in the household. The market vendors' involvement in a social group also helped to protect their interests and gave them higher bargaining power and public presence in the community.

In developing countries, three categories exist for women's empowerment in tourism development. First, is women's empowerment at the community level (Moswete & Lacey, 2015; Movono & Dahles, 2017; Niatu, 2007; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995; Yahaya & Yahaya, 2014); second, in hospitality (tourism industry employee) (Alsawafi, 2016; Brookes & Nwosu, 2014; Kara, 2012; Nwosu, 2014); and third, women as tourists (Yang, Khoo-Lattimore, & Arcodia, 2018). It is the first two categories that are of relevance here. At the level of community tourism planning and development, research has shown situations in which tourism has been a tool for the economic empowerment of women (Annes & Wright, 2015; Doran, 2016; Julia, 1999; McMillan et al., 2011; Moswete & Lacey, 2015; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995; Yahaya & Yahaya, 2014). However, research in the hospitality/tourism industry shows a significant relationship between educational attainment levels, type of job, and amount of income, as well as links to other forms of empowerment, particularly psychological empowerment (Brookes & Nwosu, 2014; Nwosu, 2014), although negative perceptions of tourism sector jobs may also limit women from choosing work in the tourism sector (Alsawafi, 2016).

Economic empowerment through tourism does not automatically translate into a meaningful redress of unequal power relationships (Ferguson, 2011). For example, the aims of sustainable tourism explicitly mention gender in employment quality. However, though related to empowerment, the aim does not mention gender equality to engage in and empower planning and decision-making



(UNEP & UNWTO, 2005). Therefore, like other development activities that profess to be 'gender-neutral', tourism runs the risk of disadvantaging and marginalising women, particularly in decision-making (Lenao & Basupi, 2016; Scheyvens, 2000).

Policy and regulations also play a crucial role in women's empowerment (Ferguson, 2011; Lenao & Basupi, 2016; Moswete & Lacey, 2015) since it could contribute to freedom from economic dependency on men, family, and society (Moswete & Lacey, 2015). There is a need for more political will from policymakers and implementers to boldly address (and appreciate) the situation of women in society and work towards advancing their interests and promoting their empowerment in tourism development (Lenao & Basupi, 2016). For example, the efforts by the Botswana government to empower women in tourism development were initiated by a community-based cultural tourism policy, providing opportunities for women to become leaders and entrepreneurs, which then enhanced women's empowerment in the economic and psychological dimensions (Moswete & Lacey, 2015).

Involvement in the tourism industry can act as a vehicle for women's empowerment, by improving their livelihoods and facilitating empowerment for future generations, through education, choice, and opportunities (Annes & Wright, 2015; Doran, 2016; McMillan et al., 2011; Moswete & Lacey, 2015; Movono & Dahles, 2017). There may be barriers to women's empowerment, however, including a lack of start-up capital, low levels of education, low potential earnings (Moswete & Lacey, 2015), the persistence of a patriarchal culture (Annes & Wright, 2015), religion, marriage or lack of fundamental rights (Iwuagwu et al., 2015).

The literature outlines several strategies to empower women, including giving them leadership roles (Moswete & Lacey, 2015; Pleno, 2006), encouraging them to interact with outsiders (e.g. visitors), particularly those interested in tourism activities, and increasing their knowledge by providing them education, both formal and informal (Pleno, 2006). The literature shows that education, particularly formal education, can be the main strategy for achieving women's empowerment (Brookes & Nwosu, 2014; Guinée, 2014; Jayaweera, 1997) since it gives women the confidence and skills to negotiate (Guinée, 2014). By becoming leaders, women can progress from passive involvement to active participation in tourism activities, in the process developing pride and self-esteem (Moswete & Lacey, 2015).

The extant literature indicates that the type of tourism activities and/or tourism destination influences the opportunities for women's empowerment. The type of tourism activities offered may influence the form of employment available in the destination and furthermore, affect the opportunity for women to be involved in the tourism industry since the types of employment for women is often associated with their domestic roles (Scheyvens, 2000). For example, adventure

tourism or nature-based tourism, where the main attraction is an outdoor activity that relies on features of the natural terrain (e.g., scenery, plants or animals), often does not include significant interactions with local communities (Buckley, 2006). Furthermore, the jobs that are available mostly involve interaction and travelling to nature – outside the home – which due to culture and social norms are not seen as appropriate roles for women (Scheyvens, 2000, 2007). For example, women are less likely to become porters or guides; jobs often available in adventure or nature-based tourism (Scheyvens, 2007; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995).

By comparison, cultural tourism offers activities that often have more significant opportunities to interact with the community and showcase community culture. Cultural tourism is defined as a type of tourism activity in which the visitor's primary motivation is to learn, discover, experience, and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination. The attractions/ products are, for example, arts and architecture, historical and cultural heritage, culinary heritage, literature, music, creative industries and the living cultures with their lifestyles, value systems, beliefs and traditions (UNWTO, 2017). Most of the cultural experiences can be provided by women since it is related to their domestic and cultural skills, via homestays, food provision, and creating handicrafts, artworks, and souvenirs to be sold to tourists (Du Cros & McKercher, 2014; Trupp & Sunanta, 2017). For example, in Mexico, heritage tourism has offered a range of female job opportunities (Chant, 2005). This is because the tourist resorts are characterised by a large service sector where demand for female labour is high and because of the existence of feminised niches within hotel and restaurant work where women's assumed 'domestic' skills' give them an advantage over men in tourism. Another example is given by Niatu (2007), who revealed that cruise ship tourism could encourage an entrepreneurial spirit amongst women who were able to utilise their domestic skills (e.g., weavers, tailors, or handicraft makers) to create jobs and an income for themselves. It should be noted, however, that many of these jobs for women in the tourism sector are low paid and relatively low-skilled, with limited opportunities for progression (Chant, 2005; Scheyvens, 2000).

It needs to be acknowledged that culture can inhibit community empowerment since it limits certain community groups (e.g., women) from accessing information, or from pursuing higher education. As noted by Wahab and Cooper (2005), access to education is often influenced by culture, often allied closely to religious beliefs.

#### **2.4.4 Peripherality and community empowerment in tourism development**

The conceptualisation of the world as divided into core and periphery is a product of development studies and part of dependency theory (Brown & Hall, 2000). Peripherality, in these discussions, is often defined as a spatial feature or geographical dimension that relates to the distance between

individual areas from core centres or major population bases (Brown & Hall, 2000; Nash & Martin, 2003). In tourism, the peripheral zone is that area distant from the main tourist gateways or arrival points (Nash & Martin, 2003). However, the spatial dimension is only one part of peripherality. Brown and Hall (2000) suggest that to describe something as peripheral is to dismiss it as unimportant, of no interest to the majority, and no significance to world events. In addition to the geographical factor, therefore, peripherality refers to the perceptions of a place as economically, socially, or politically peripheral (Nash & Martin, 2003). In political terms, unequal or distant relationships with centres of power may mark out a periphery (Brown & Hall, 2000).

Rural areas, in some cases constrained by remoteness, often have limited options for economic development. Being peripheral can have advantages, however; often peripheral regions have considerable potential resources, both natural and cultural, with high aesthetic amenity values since the area is relatively underdeveloped compared with core areas and can be developed into a tourism destination. In a tourism context, isolation and remoteness may be viewed as attractions (Brown & Hall, 2000; Hall & Boyd, 2005; Nash & Martin, 2003). In this way, tourism development can offer economic benefits in term of income and employment generation to enhance rural lifestyles and facilitate income distribution (Lane & Kastenholz, 2015; Liu, 2006; McGehee et al., 2015; Moscardo, 2005; Nash & Martin, 2003; Wilson et al., 2001).

Despite advantages, rural communities have limitations since they often lack capability in the form of knowledge, resource, and experience, and rely on imported information (Blackman et al., 2004) as outlined above (see Section 2.3.2) (Cole, 2006, 2007; Moscardo, 2008; Ramos & Prideaux, 2014; Scheyvens, 2002; Thomas & Middleton, 2003). A lack of knowledge in a peripheral area is often related to limited access to education since facilities are often available only at the core; remoteness can limit access if education is too distant, or roads are not easily passable (Dodds et al., 2016; Wahab & Cooper, 2005). A lack of information in the peripheral area might also occur because the flow of information within the periphery and from the periphery to the core is weaker than that from the core to the periphery (Hall & Boyd, 2005; Owen et al., 1997). Such information flows may have implications for political and economic decision-making undertaken in core regions (Hall, 1997 as cited in Hall & Boyd, 2005).

For those reasons, reliable information about the periphery (e.g., local community needs and aspirations) is essential as the basis for developing sustainable tourism plans (Garrod, 2003). A lack of success in community empowerment in tourism development in peripheral areas is often caused by inadequate or misleading information about their issues as received by policymakers, which restricts their capacity to identify appropriate policy instruments and to select, promote and support industries and other productive capacities as viable and sustainable alternatives (Hall & Boyd, 2005).

Peripheral regions often suffer social problems associated with political and economic disempowerment (Blackman et al., 2004). From a political perspective, to be peripheral often means to be marginalised, to lack power and influence and lack political control over major decisions (Brown & Hall, 2000; Hall & Boyd, 2005). As tourism-related decision-making in peripheral areas is often taken by central government or external stakeholders (see Section 4.3.2), it may result in the local community feeling a sense of alienation and lack of control over their own destiny (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017; Carson et al., 2014; Hall & Boyd, 2005; Sadan, 2004; Scheyvens, 2002; Zimmerman, 1995). Lim and Sirimanne (2011) underline that it is difficult to coordinate things when stakeholders are away from each other and lack a good communication system.

Peripheral tourism communities often experience economic disempowerment as economic development, such as infrastructure and facilities, are often concentrated in the core area (Blackman et al., 2004; Brown & Hall, 2000; Fonseca & Ramos, 2012; Moscardo, 2005; Nash & Martin, 2003; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000). The literature notes that tourists play an essential role in community empowerment (see Section 2.3.2). Nevertheless, being distant from the core of activity often results in poor access to and from tourist markets thereby inhibiting the industry's development and the flow of economic benefits to the periphery (Brown & Hall, 2000; Dodds et al., 2016; Goodwin, 2002; Hall & Boyd, 2005; Nash & Martin, 2003; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000).

To conclude, a peripheral community faces many challenges in optimising community empowerment through tourism development. Some of those challenges are lack of knowledge and information because of a lack of access to resources (e.g., education facilities), a lack of political control, limited access to the tourism market, and limited coordination and communication with stakeholders.

## **2.5 Empowerment research in tourism in Indonesia**

A number of scholars have studied community empowerment in tourism development in Indonesia (Butarbutar & Soemarno, 2013b; Cole, 2006, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; Herawati et al., 2014; Hidayat et al., 2017; Sumarja & Wahab, 2014), with most of these studies focused on community empowerment as an outcome of tourism development. There is little discussion of the process of community empowerment, including women's empowerment, through tourism development, or how that process affects the outcomes perceived by the communities.

In her study, Cole (2006) identifies the role of tourism in empowering a community, the barriers to community empowerment, and a way to enhance community empowerment, particularly in the political dimension. Herawati et al. (2014) study in Pentingsari village in Java Island measured the success of rural tourism in empowering the community. Related to the empowerment process, Butarbutar and Soemarno (2013b) identify several activities, such as human capacity development and provision of financial support undertaken by external stakeholders to increase community

empowerment. Human capacity development involved training on tour guiding, accommodation management, and small business skills, as well as dissemination of information about the ecotourism concept. Financial support was provided through business loans for the community to open small tourism support businesses. In this study, there was no analysis of the relationship between these activities and community empowerment outcomes perceived by the community.

Scholars researching empowerment outcomes through tourism development in Indonesia have generally focused on economic and psychological dimensions, however they acknowledge that the benefit is shared unequally between community members (Butarbutar & Soemarno, 2013b; Cole, 2006, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; Herawati et al., 2014; Hidayat et al., 2017; Sumarja & Wahab, 2014). For example, Cole (2006) reports that tourism in Ngadha, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia, enhances pride and confidence, strengthens political identity, and increases external contacts. Herawati et al. (2014) suggest that rural tourism can enhance community empowerment, particularly economically, by way of increased income through employment in the tourism industry, and can enhance community and individual self-esteem (psychological empowerment) since residents can have important roles in the tourism industry. However, this study found also that rural tourism development had caused social disempowerment since some community members felt jealous as only some community members were benefitting.

Scholars also identify several barriers for community empowerment in an Indonesian context, namely a lack of knowledge and skills, lack of capital, lack of trust between community and others stakeholders, a lack of coordination between stakeholders, land ownership by foreigners, and culture (Cole, 2006, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; Goodwin, 2002; Hidayat et al., 2017; Sumarja & Wahab, 2014). For example, a lack of the necessary skills meant the Komodo National Park and Ngadha community experienced great difficulty in entering the tourism industry (Cole, 2007; Goodwin, 2002). Hidayat et al. (2017) found that empowerment efforts undertaken by external stakeholders were not being optimised due to the community's lack of trust in them because of their limited interaction with the community. In regards to culture, Cole (2007) research in Ngadha concluded that cultural values were inhibiting community empowerment, with uncertainty avoidance making the community reluctant to build a tourism business or become an entrepreneur. While in Bali, Dolezal (2015) found that power structures created by the caste system applied in the community limits the opportunity for certain community groups (i.e., lower caste) from involvement in the tourism industry, due to the dominance of local elites on "village tourism committees" that decide who can participate in the tourism industry.

To conclude, the studies of community empowerment in the tourism context in Indonesia indicate that tourism development has the potential to empower a community economically and

psychologically. However, there are several barriers in achieving community empowerment, including community culture. Peripherality, nevertheless, has not been explicitly explored in these previous studies.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

To explore how and to what degree tourism is empowering local rural communities in Indonesia, the first step is to understand the empirical and conceptual literature on community empowerment and its meaning and application in the tourism context. This chapter has provided a broad overview of community empowerment – as a process and as an outcome – in tourism development.

Empowerment can occur at an individual or community level, and take economic, psychological, social, or political forms. The empowerment definition used for this study is that of Aghazamani and Hunt (2017) which integrates Sofield (2003) concepts, particularly the part that for the community to be empowered, it needs support from other stakeholders .

The literature indicates that support from stakeholders is a factor, among others, that assists community empowerment in tourism development. Each stakeholder has a different role in the process. However, as a diversity of stakeholders with different interests and motivations in tourism, this creates the need for stakeholder coordination and leadership. In addition, the literature suggests that other factors influencing community empowerment in tourism development in a developing country context are knowledge, the power structure, and regulations.

This chapter also discusses key limiting factors for community empowerment in tourism in a developing country, namely culture and peripherality. The literature suggests that empowerment through tourism is significantly affected by cultural context, where norms can be simultaneously empowering and disempowering. For example, cultural factors could enhance community opportunities to benefit from tourism development and facilitate the flow of information through a community or can inhibit community empowerment by limiting community opportunities or intentions to be involved in the tourism industry or planning. Therefore, there is a need to gain a deeper understanding of the cultural context in which tourism is occurring and integrate flexible and distinct socio-cultural strategies into its management.

A community's culture can influence the empowerment of disadvantaged groups, including women. Women's empowerment is one theme that is often discussed by scholars in a developing country context, with suggestions of a range of strategies to empower women including giving them leadership roles, encouraging them to interact with outsiders (e.g., visitors), and increasing their knowledge by providing them with education, both formal and informal.

One issue which has received relatively limited attention in empowerment literature is the importance of peripherality. Peripherality could be a limiting factor for community empowerment in tourism development. It could restrict community to access: 1) information and knowledge that result in a lack of power and influence over major decisions; 2) markets (i.e., tourists); and 3) stakeholder coordination and communication.

In summary, community empowerment can be measured in terms of process and outcomes and it manifests in different dimensions (economic, psychological, social, and political) and different levels (individual and community). Developing countries appear to face more challenges to enabling community empowerment in tourism development than developed countries do, but in the case of Indonesia, there is limited research examining the process of community empowerment in the tourism context. The significance of the current research is the exploration of ***how and to what degree tourism empowers two local rural communities in this country***. The next chapter will describe the methods used for data collection and analysis in this study.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Research Methods**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the selected approaches and methods used in the study to answer the study's objectives, as outlined in Chapter One. It consists of three main sections that explain the design, process, and limitations of this research. It first describes the method used in the study, sets an overview of the study site, and the rationale for case study selection. Then it explains the methods of data collection and analysis (in-depth interviews, household survey, document analysis, participatory, and field observation). The final section discusses the study's limitations before the chapter concludes.

#### **3.2 Research design**

This section consists of two sub-sections. It first explains the methodology employed in the study to answer the research objective and the justification for each method used. An overview of the study setting is presented next, along with the rationale for the choice of area and case studies.

##### **3.2.1 Research methodology**

This study employed a case study and mixed-methods approach. It was conducted in two villages that apply different planning approaches to tourism development (see Section 3.2.2) to explore how differences in tourism planning (including empowerment processes) affect the extent of community empowerment (empowerment outcomes). The case study approach has been used extensively in tourism research (Beeton, 2005). It aims to deepen our understanding of the selected setting to add a broader empirical understanding and generate theories about the underlying issues (Newing, 2010). The case study method is considered valid in tourism research (Hoaglin, Light, McPeck, Mosteller, and Stoto, 1982 as cited in Beeton, 2005, p. 38) since it allows the researcher to gain insights that could explain the reasons for the success or failure of certain innovations in particular settings and contexts. It also allows new theoretical ideas to be tested *in-situ*, or established ideas to be grounded in new contexts. It also can illustrate the complexities of a situation by recognising more than one contributing factor.

Despite the advantages, there are some limitations of the case study method that need to be recognised. It has been argued that case studies tend to reflect the bias of the researcher, who is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis (Beeton, 2005; Yin, 2018). One method proposed that may overcome the researcher bias is 'triangulation,' which is used in this research. By



triangulating several methodologies (i.e., qualitative and quantitative), it is postulated that inherent bias would be neutralised and convergence of results achieved (Yin, 2018).

Another limitation with case study research comes from the perceived inability to generalise the findings to any broader level (Beeton, 2005; Yin, 2018). Yin (2018) suggests that one way to overcome this limitation is by doing an analytical generalisation, rather than statistical generalisation. Analytical generalisation means that rather than thinking about a case study as a sample, the researcher should think of their case study as the opportunity to shed empirical light on some theoretical concepts or principles; it has been used in this way in the current research. The implications for the analytic generalisation is it could lead to greater insight about the “how” and “why” questions that are posed at the outset of the case study and can be used to implicate new situations (Yin, 2018).

The appropriate case study depends partly on the current state of knowledge about the topic. If the study is addressing a new, poorly developed research area, almost any case study should add something to current knowledge (Newing, 2010). In contrast, if the research field is already well developed, there are benefits in choosing an extreme or unusual case that appears to contradict current theories. Another approach is to select a case study where the factors of interest are particularly prominent so that you can explore them in-depth (Newing, 2010). The research approach flow is detailed in Figure 3.1.

The mixed-methods approach used in this study has a complementary purpose with a concurrent structure. A concurrent design uses qualitative and quantitative approaches in parallel; a complementary purpose means that quantitative and qualitative approaches are used to address different questions within a research design, to investigate an issue at different scales, or to collect data from different groups of people. This combination of methods was chosen based on theoretical issues, practical considerations, and the social-cultural context (Newing, 2010).

The objective of this study is to explore ‘how’ and to ‘what’ degree tourism is empowering local communities in Indonesia. The study, therefore, includes a focus on the empowerment process (the ‘how’ question) *and* community empowerment outcomes (the ‘what’). To explore the ‘how’ of community empowerment, the researcher asked open-ended questions that often begin with “why” or “how,” which gave respondents freedom to answer the questions using their own words (Guion, Diehl, & McDonald, 2011; Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest, & Namey, 2005).

The qualitative methods employed in this study are in-depth interviews and participatory observation (see Section 3.3.1). Interviews were conducted with stakeholders involved in tourism development in the case study areas. The key characteristics of the in-depth interviews are open-ended questions and a semi-structured format, which seeks understanding and interpretation (Guion et al., 2011).

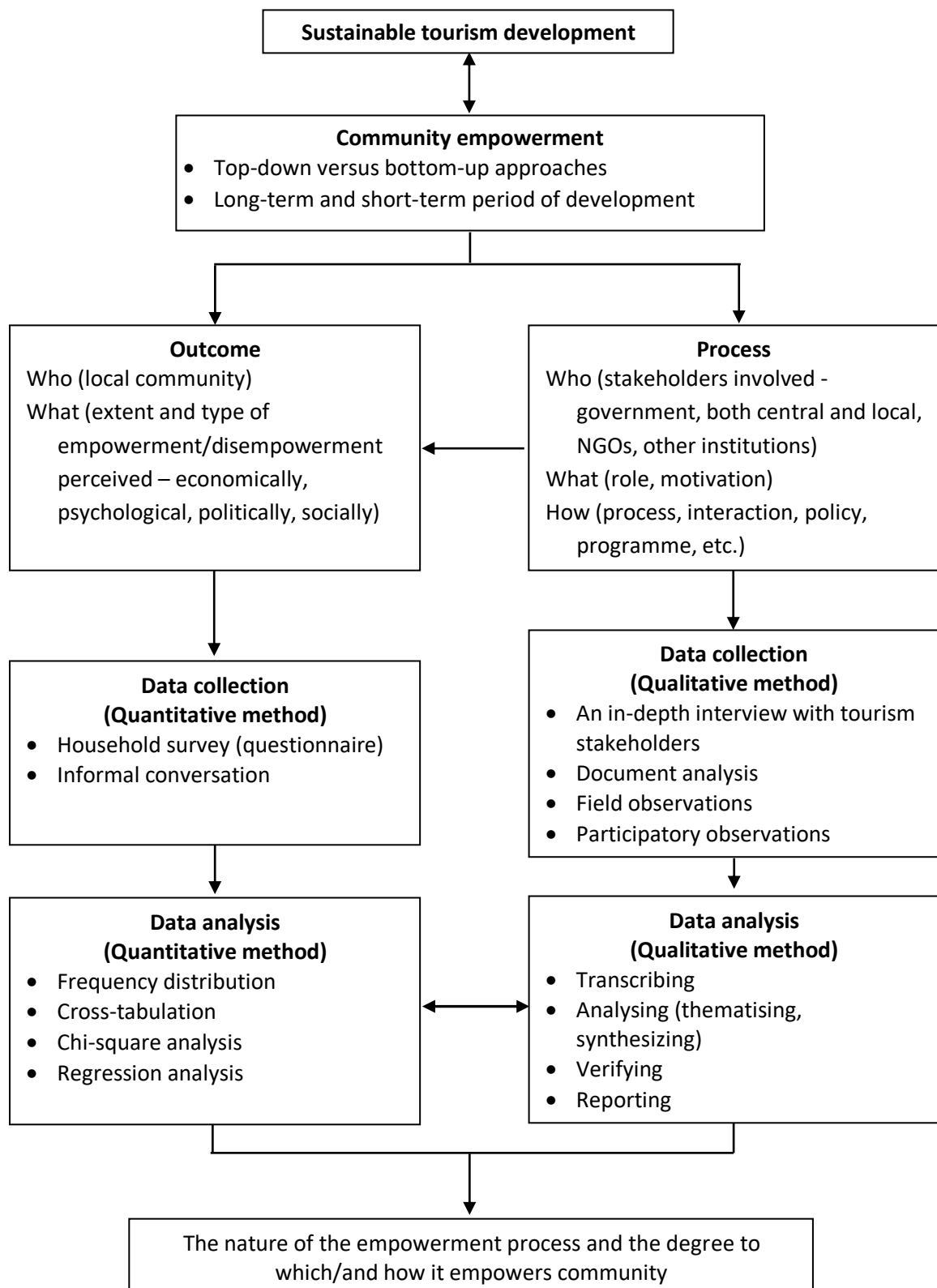


Figure 3.1 The research flow diagram.

For the participatory observation, the researcher observed tourism events, community meetings related to tourism and day to day activities in the life of the village. During interviews, stakeholders were able to provide detail of their experiences, which is difficult to capture with surveys. In turn, the researcher was able to respond immediately to what informants said by tailoring subsequent

questions to the information the informant had provided. In this way, the instruments used were more flexible with an iterative style of eliciting and categorising responses to questions.

A quantitative approach, in the form of a household survey (questionnaires) is appropriate to answer the second research objective: the degree of empowerment as perceived by local residents. The questionnaire was based on Scheyvens (1999) work, as the most influential conceptualisation of empowerment in tourism (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017). The literature shows that to assess community empowerment outcomes, a quantitative approach is a frequently used method (Boley et al., 2015; Chiang & Hsieh, 2012; Kara, 2012; Kundu, 2012; Maruyama et al., 2016a), and that was the method used in this current project.

Another main reason for using a quantitative approach for this study is because of its capacity to incorporate quite a large sample of a local community in the setting involved (Babbie, 2007; Creswell, 2009; Newing, 2010). In addition, since the questions asked of all participants are the same, in the same order, the researcher can standardise the data collected. Therefore, it enables generalisation from a sample to a population and inferences can be made about some characteristics, attitudes, or behaviours of the population (Babbie, 2007; Creswell, 2009; Mack et al., 2005; Newing, 2010). The method also allows for a meaningful comparison of responses across participants and study sites and to quantify variation. Moreover, fixed answers enable easy quantification for statistical analysis to predict causal relationships, describe the characteristics of a population, while also being quick to administer (Mack et al., 2005; Newing, 2010).

### **3.2.2 Research setting**

The case studies were chosen after consideration of theoretical aspects such as the uniqueness of places and the potential contribution to current knowledge. Because of the study's objectives, the case studies were chosen to show the differences in the tourism development process to assess how this could influence the community empowerment process and outcome.

The study was conducted at two villages, Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang, in North Sumatra province (see Figure 3.2), adjacent to Gunung Leuser National Park (GLNP).

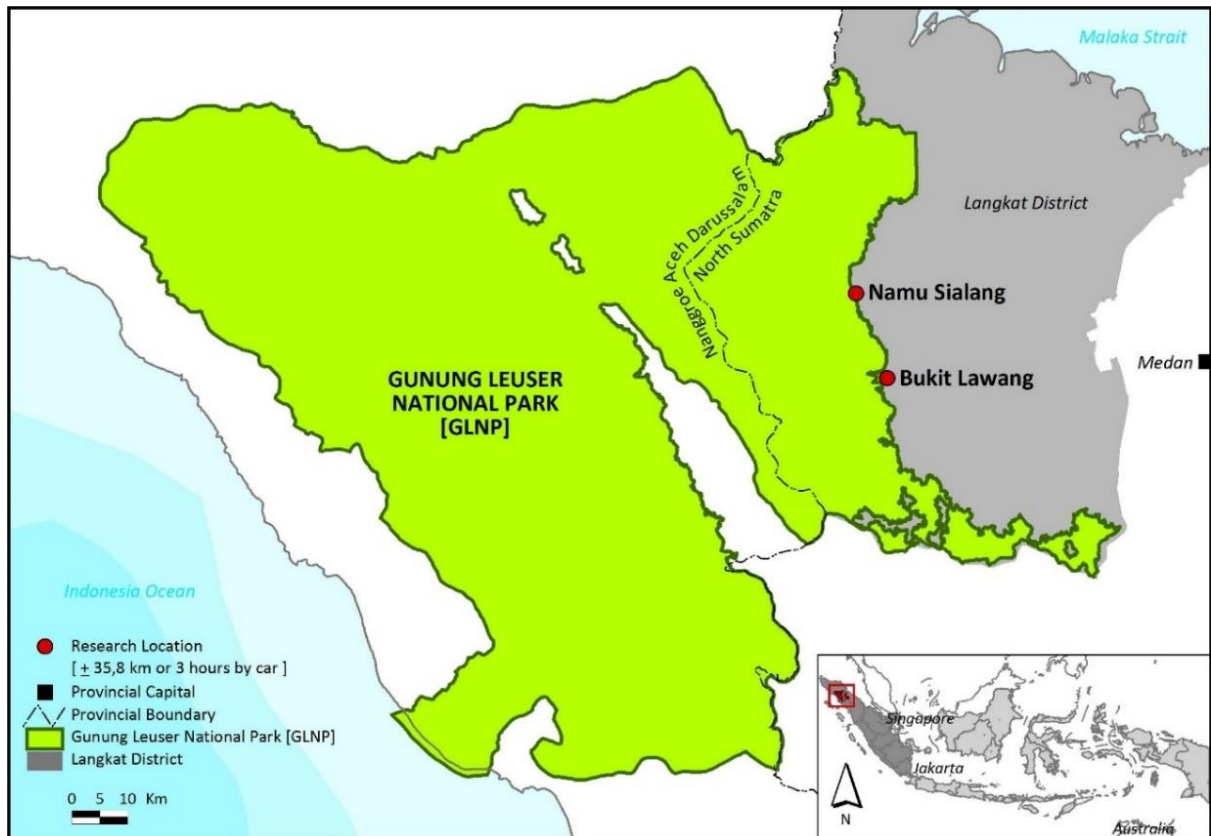


Figure 3.2 The location of case study sites, Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang, North Sumatra province.

These two villages use the park's resources as a tourist attraction and as the basis for tourist activities (Table 3.1). Administratively, GLNP is located in two provinces, North Sumatra and Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam. It has an area of 1,094,692 ha (Yayasan Orangutan Sumatera Lestari-Orangutan Information Centre (YOSL-OIC), 2009).

Table 3.1 Similarities of the case study areas.

Criterion	Perkebunan Bukit Lawang	Namo Sialang
Location	1. Adjacent to Gunung Leuser National Park, Medan, North Sumatra 2. Under the same district (Langkat District)	
Main attraction	Wildlife	
	Orangutan	Elephant
Main activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Animal watching (orangutan observation; elephant riding and bathing)</li> <li>Jungle tracks, swimming, kayaking, rafting, tubing, fishing, caving</li> </ul>	
Type of hamlets	The villages have three types of hamlets: plantation hamlets, tourism hamlets, and ordinary hamlets	
Tourism centre	Located in a certain hamlet	
	Dusun VII	Kwala Buluh
Tourists	Mostly international tourists (recorded)	
Tourism regulations	From central government, particularly the Ministry of Forestry regarding entrance fee and permit to enter the national park	

The GLNP is located within the Leuser Ecosystem area, that is considered the last home for the Sumatran elephant population (*Elephas maximus sumatranus*), Sumatran orangutan (*Pongo abelii*), Sumatran tiger (*Panthera tigris*) and Sumatran rhino (*Dicerorhinus sumatrensis*). The park is also home to highly diverse fauna: approximately 350 bird species, 129 mammal species, and 194 reptile species and flora, with around 4000 plant species found within it. The rare and endemic Sumatran plant, *Rafflesia arnoldi*, the world's largest individual flower, lives in this ecosystem (Taman Nasional Gunung Leuser, 2014b; Yayasan Orangutan Sumatera Lestari-Orangutan Information Centre (YOSL-OIC), 2009). Several tourism destinations exist within GLNP area, including Bukit Lawang with orangutan as its icon (Chapter Five) and Tangkahan (Chapter Six) (Taman Nasional Gunung Leuser, 2014b). Of all the destinations, only Tangkahan is fully managed and organised by the local community through LPT. Tourism activities in Bukit Lawang are managed by the tourist guide association (HPI/ITGA) while other destinations are managed and organised by the central government (GLNP manager).

With regard to the potential contribution to current knowledge, the two chosen villages have differences in the tourism development process (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Differences between the case study areas.

Criterion	Perkebunan Bukit Lawang	Namo Sialang
<b>Type of village</b>	Plantation village	Village
<b>Tourism development process</b>	"By accident", no planning process	By design – local initiatives, with some stages in development, supported by several stakeholders
<b>Length of tourism development</b>	Started in 1973 Temporarily stopped from November 2003 to July 2004 due to floods. Redeveloped from July 2004	Initiated in 2001 by the local community. From 2002 to 2016, the local community was given legal right to manage part of the national park
<b>Tourism regulations</b>	From local government: entrance fee for domestic tourists No regulation regarding people who want to be involved in the tourism industry	One door policy; all tourism activities and/or bookings through tourism organisation (Lembaga Pariwisata Tagkahan/LPT) Domestic tourists pay an entrance fee and parking fee to local people. Has regulation regarding people who want to be involved in the tourism industry
<b>Type of management</b>	Government (central & local)	Local community organisation
<b>Population size</b>	2,030 people, 820 households, seven hamlets	4,506 people, 1035 households, 18 hamlets

They are different in terms of tourism planning process (top-down versus bottom-up approach), the type of tourism management, and each village is at a different stage of tourism development.

Perkebunan Bukit Lawang is famous among international tourists because of its orangutans, and the community organise most tourist activities and accommodation. Namo Sialang village has a tourism destination (i.e., Tangkahan) which is famous for being managed by the local community and has received recognition from national and/or international institutions as a destination that has successfully involved the community in tourism development. One newspaper stated that “*The 5,000 villagers of Tangkahan are now official caretakers of a corner of one of Indonesia's most impressive national parks*” (Foley, 2004). The word "community" and the behavioural change from illegal loggers to tourism operators are the icons of the region's fame. The context of each community are described in Chapters Five and Six.

### **3.3 Research process**

The researcher stayed at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang for nine weeks (August – September 2016) and for ten weeks at Namo Sialang (October–early December 2016) to conduct interviews, complete surveys, and undertake participatory and field observations. The researcher returned for the second round of interviews on 11 - 22 July 2017, spending five days at each village. To conduct the field study, the researcher needed two permits: one from the national park manager to do field observation within the park, and another from the village heads to survey their communities. The first step in setting up the study was, therefore, to report to the national park management to get a field research permit to conduct observations within the park since both villages use the park's resources as a tourist attraction and as the basis for tourist activities. The permit to enter the conservation area (SIMAKSI) is required so that the manager could monitor and document the research that had been done in the area and identify whether the study was in line with the management objectives (*pers. comm, GLNP representative*).

To gain a permit for the village survey there are cultural considerations when undertaking this type of research. For example, before starting data collection, the researcher must first acquire a permit from the village head. Then the researcher asked the village head to introduce her to the community as a researcher, explain the study's purpose (in a public meeting), and inform the community that participation in the study is voluntary. This needed to be done so that community members would not be suspicious about the researcher and that they could be fully informed, ask questions and then consider whether they wanted to be involved in the study or not.

At Namo Sialang, a community meeting was being held at the village office when the researcher arrived at the village. It was attended by all hamlet heads and several community representatives. The village head then introduced the researcher to the meeting's participants and asked them to spread the information to the community. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, since there was no community meeting scheduled near the time of the researcher's arrival, the village head called all hamlet leaders

and introduced the researcher to them, thereby showing that he gave permission to the researcher to do the study. The village leader then asked the hamlet heads to introduce the researcher to the community members. Some hamlet heads then made an oral announcement; others invited the researcher to come to a women's meeting in their hamlet. The women's meeting is conducted weekly by the women in each hamlet, mostly for Muslim women to recite Al Qur'an together.

It is important in research projects to maintain participant anonymity and confidentiality, and this was achieved by keeping data and consent forms in separate files. No names of any respondents are used in any written research reports, with codes being used (for survey respondents) and roles used for interviewees (e.g., central government, local government). For those who have an apparent role, they were only mentioned as a representative of the organisation. For example, for a village leader, he would be referred to as "village government representative".

Since 2000, I have worked in Indonesia as a tourism researcher focusing mainly on questions at the confluence of national park management, rural communities, and tourism management and development. In my previous role, I had not worked in either of the case study areas utilised in this thesis. While I hadn't worked in these places, I had encountered and worked with some of the stakeholders involved, namely the tourism and wildlife NGOs. My previous experience in tourism research in national parks provided me with a very helpful baseline understanding of the key issues. For example, I was aware of how the tourism-related national park regulations applied, who the key tourism stakeholders would likely be in a national park area, and how they would potentially interact. I was also aware of the general problems facing people involved in tourism development in national park settings.

In my previous work I had also gained some first-hand experience working with rural communities located both in and around national parks. The locations of these previous studies include: the Flores community at Kelimutu National Park, Sumba community at Manupeu Tanadaru National Park, Sundanese community at Gunung Halimun National Park. These prior experiences helped me to anticipate and prepare for some of the issues of researching with and in communities in Indonesia, and how to appropriately approach and interact with them.

My personal characteristics also influenced my experiences. I am a Sundanese woman from Indonesia, and so was able to connect with, and be accepted by, the local community without encountering too many barriers. My understanding of the Indonesian culture was a real advantage as it enabled me to adhere to cultural protocols and gain access to research participants relatively quickly (it would take an 'outsider' a much longer time to time to acquire this cultural knowledge and gain access to the community). Despite coming from a different ethnic group from the majority of my respondents, and speaking a different dialect, I did not experience any difficulties interacting and

communicating with the community, as all the respondents could speak the shared national language of Indonesia. This was another advantage.

### 3.3.1 Data collection

This section explains the process of data collection that has been done in this study: in-depth interviews, the village survey, document analysis, participatory, and field observation.

#### In-depth interviews

The sampling methods used to select in-depth interviews participants were purposive and snowball sampling. **Purposive sampling** is a type of nonprobability sampling in which the units to be observed are selected by the researcher's judgment on which will be the most useful or representative. It is implemented by selecting a sample on the basis of knowledge of a population, its elements, and the purpose of the study. **Snowball sampling** is often employed in field research whereby each person interviewed may be asked to suggest additional people for interviewing. In snowball sampling, the researcher collects data on few members of the target population that can be located and then asks those individuals to provide the information needed to determine other members of that population whom they happen to know and are involved in the issue (i.e., tourism development) (Babbie, 2007).

In-depth interviews were conducted with tourism stakeholders, including local government representatives, tourism operators, tourism organisations, non-government organisation (NGO) representatives, national parks managers, and extension officers involved in tourism development in the study areas. The researcher interviewed 46 individuals (18 in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang; 24 in Namo Sialang; four interviewees worked across both villages) from the five types of tourism stakeholders (i.e., local and central government, NGOs, tourism industry members, tourism organisations). Some stakeholders (i.e., central government and one wildlife conservation NGO) were involved in tourism development at both villages (Table 3.3, page 54). At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village, three of the interviewees were female. They worked as an accommodation employee, a restaurant owner, and a restaurant employee. At Namo Sialang village, four of the interviewees are female. The female interviewees worked as a Community Tourism Operator (CTO) administrator, an accommodation employee, a ranger, and an employee at a souvenir shop. The interviewees were chosen through a snowball sampling method, with one interviewee recommending the next potential interviewee. The final sample derived from the snowballing technique – which is biased towards men – suggests that men have a stronger presence in the local tourism sector and therefore were more likely to be mentioned as referrals during the snowball process and observations. There were no women working as guides in either case study area. This gender imbalance was to some extent balanced by the household survey where the representation of men and women is more balanced, but this inequality and limitation must be acknowledged.



Table 3.3 The list of stakeholders interviewed in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang.

Stakeholder	Interviewee	Gender	Involved at
<b>Central government (Gunung Leuser National Park)</b>	1. Daily Implementer Bukit Lawang field office	Male	Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village
	2. Head of Region III Langkat	Male	Namo Sialang village
	3. Head of utilisation and research division	Male	
<b>Local government</b>	4. PBL village current head of the village	Male	Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village
	5. PBL former head of the village	Male	
	6. Head of the plantation hamlet	Male	
	7. Head of the tourism hamlet	Male	
	8. Head of the ordinary hamlet	Male	
	9. Langkat District Tourism Office	Male	Both villages
	10. Head of the Namo Sialang village		Namo Sialang village
	11. Head of the plantation hamlet	Male	
	12. Head of the tourism hamlet	Male	
	13. Head of the ordinary hamlet	Male	
<b>Tourism organisation</b>	14. Chairman of <i>Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia</i> (HPI)	Male	Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village
	15. Current Head of <i>Lembaga Pariwisata Tangkahan</i> (LPT)	Male	Namo Sialang village
	16. LPT founder leader	Male	
	17. LPT founder member (1)	Male	
	18. LPT founder member (2)	Male	
	19. CTO administrator	Female	
<b>Tourism industry</b>	20. Accommodation manager/owner	Male	Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village
	21. Accommodation employee	Female	
	22. Transportation operator	Male	
	23. Guide		
	24. Guide		
	25. Restaurants/cafes owner	Female	
	26. Restaurants/cafes employee	Female	
	27. Restaurants/cafes employee	Male	
	28. Tour operator/travel agent owner	Male	
	29. Tour operator/travel agent employee	Male	
	30. Accommodation manager/owner	Male	Namo Sialang village
	31. Accommodation employee	Female	
	32. Accommodation employee	Male	
	33. Guide	Male	
	34. Guide	Male	
	35. Ranger	Female	
	36. Ranger	Male	
	37. Restaurants/cafes owner	Male	
	38. Restaurants/cafes employee	Male	
	39. Bus driver	Male	
	40. Souvenir shops employee	Female	
<b>Conservation/ Environmental/ Wildlife NGO</b>	41. Lead Coordinator PPLH Bohorok	Male	Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village
	42. Conservation Rescue Unit (CRU) Tangkahan Tourism Programme Manager	Male	Namo Sialang village

Stakeholder	Interviewee	Gender	Involved at
	43. Conservation Rescue Unit (CRU) Tangkahan Tourism Programme team member	Male	
	44. Tangkahan Coordinator Programme (Orangutan Information Centre/OIC)	Male	
	45. Executive Director of Orangutan Information Centre (OIC)	Male	Both villages
Tourism NGO	46. Executive Director of Indonesian Ecotourism Network (INDECON)	Male	Namo Sialang village

The researcher approached the village leader and tourism organisation leader as the first interviewee of the project. This was because they have authority over tourism activities in the region, and it was assumed that they have broad knowledge related to tourism development in the area. The researcher then asked him/her about persons from other institutions who could be potential participants. These recommended participants were then approached for interviews. All interviews were completed in person; notes were taken and, if permitted, the interview was recorded with a voice recorder.

An interview guide for this research was developed by the researcher based on the research framework and was used as an indicative guide when conducting interviews (Kvale, 1996 as cited at Guion et al., 2011). This guide included key informant background information and the background of their organisation; their involvement and opinion about tourism development; their role in tourism development; and their opinion about tourism as a tool for empowering communities (see Appendix C).

The time and location for the interviews were determined based on interviewee convenience to avoid disturbing their daily lives. The interviews were done at the participants' office or house by appointment. Research information sheets (RIS) and consent forms (in Indonesian) (see Appendixes A.2 and D.2) were provided to the interviewees to inform them about the study, to stress that their participation was voluntary, and ensure their informed consent. The researcher explained to the participants what the study was about, what information was wanted from them, how long the interview would take, and how the researcher was going to use the information received from them. The researcher then explained that the project was independent research funded by Lincoln University (ESD research grant) and New Zealand-ASEAN AID, and not from the Indonesian government.

The consent from the key stakeholders (i.e., central and local government representatives, tourism operators, the tourism industry, the tourism organisation, and NGOs) was obtained in writing. In the interview stage, as detailed by Kvale, 1996 cited at Guion et al. (2011), when the researcher started the interview, she made introductions, explained the purpose of the study, and tried to put the respondent at ease by making 'small talk'. Participants were advised that they were free to decline

participation in the study, and they also had the right to refuse to answer any question or have their answers removed from the study. The researcher also explained that notes would be taken during the interview, and if permission was gained, the researcher audio-recorded the interview. The interviewees were informed that while audio recording was preferred, they were free to refuse to be recorded. During the interview, the researcher also made notes of information given by the respondents. Several interviewees declined to be audio recorded; therefore, the researcher took field notes during the interviews and wrote them up in full in the evening of the same day to capture as much detailed data as possible. Once the interviews were completed, interview transcription, field notes, consent forms, and all documentation data were stored securely in the researcher's locked filing cabinet.

### **Household questionnaire survey**

The survey was designed to identify demographic characteristics of each community, their involvement in tourism industry and planning process, and benefits they felt they and their community had received from tourism. The statements to capture these information is based on Scheyvens' framework. Several instruments were used as a basis to design questionnaires for this study, starting with empowerment framework defined by Scheyvens (1999, 2002) to provide a mechanism to determine the impacts of ecotourism initiatives on local communities. Moreover, the World Bank guideline presents an analytical framework that can be used to measure and monitor empowerment processes and outcomes. This guideline draws on evidence from a study measuring empowerment in five countries: Nepal, Ethiopia, Brazil, Indonesia, and Honduras (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005). Boley and McGehee (2014) developed the Resident Empowerment through Tourism Scale (RETS) to measure whether residents perceive themselves as being psychologically, socially, or politically empowered from tourism and refined the scale through a pilot and pre-test study before being tested in a three-county region of western Virginia, USA, and then Oizumi, Japan (Boley et al., 2015).

These previous questionnaires were modified for the Indonesian social and cultural context. The modifications reduced the number of questions by deleting those that are not related to Scheyvens (1999, 2002) framework and simplified some wording. Some of the residents of the two villages were semi-illiterate, so if they are given very long questions, they may not understand them. The questions used still represent Scheyvens (1999, 2002) community empowerment framework. For example, with a question related to political empowerment, the original question was: *"I have a voice in (area name) tourism development decisions"* but it was changed to *"I have an opportunity to voice my opinions about tourism development in my village"* as this better suited the context.

The questionnaire consists of five sections (see Appendix E). All sections, except section three, are composed of open-ended questions. Section one asked whether the respondents were born in the village, how long they have lived there, and how many members live in their household. Section two asked about the respondents and their family's involvement in the tourism industry and tourism development or planning in their village and whether they benefited from their involvement. Section three consisted of closed-end questions in the form of statements on a 7 point Likert scale. The third section explored the level of community empowerment using the four indicators of empowerment: economic (six questions), psychological (nine questions), social (four questions), and political empowerment (four questions). The fourth section asked about their understanding of the term 'community empowerment'. The final section collected their demographic characteristics (gender, age, main occupation, ethnicity, and education). The questionnaire was translated from English to Bahasa Indonesia and then from Bahasa Indonesia back to English by different translators (back translation) to verify the quality of the translation and to ensure translational/linguistic equivalence.

The household survey was hand-distributed to households and interviewer-completed since some of the potential respondents are semi-illiterate. To select the participants for the survey, the researcher employed a cluster sampling technique to ensure that the sample was drawn from all the different hamlets in each village, and the sampled households were selected proportionately from each hamlet. Perkebunan Bukit Lawang consists of seven hamlets while Namo Sialang is administratively divided into 18 sub-villages (see Chapters Five and Six) (Ginting, Dharmawan, & Soehartini, 2010). Cluster sampling means dividing the population into 'clusters' (often based on geographical areas), taking a sample of clusters, and then take a sample of cases from each selected cluster. This method is useful for a large, dispersed population (Newing, 2010) such as the population in these studied community, which are clustered into hamlets.

To achieve this, the researcher drew one number from the resident list of each hamlet using a True Random Number Generator and started from the number drawn. Random selection was used to limit conscious or unconscious bias on the part of the researcher. A researcher who selects samples on an intuitive basis might very well select ones who would support the researcher's expectations or hypotheses. In random selection, each person has an equal chance of selection, independent of any other event in the process (Babbie, 2007). The researcher then went door-to-door in a clockwise direction in that hamlet until the target number of samples for that cluster was achieved. At each household, a simple random sampling method using alphabetical order was used. The household member whose first letter of their first name was closest to A was selected as the household participant. When that person was not available at the time, the researcher returned at an agreed time to meet the person. When the chosen person refused to participate, the researcher moved to the next house.

For the household survey questionnaire, the sample size for participants was calculated using the Research Advisors (2006) Table. The purpose of this sampling is to select a set of elements from a population in such a way that the descriptions of those elements accurately portray the total population from which the elements are selected (Babbie, 2007). The total number of samples required from Perkebunan Bukit Lawang was 263 households, and from Namo Sialang was 278. This sample size was large enough to enable statistical parameters to be estimated (the sample confidence level was 95% and a margin of error 5%). The number of households in each hamlet was counted based on the existing households found at each hamlet, rather than from formal documentation. This process was used because, in some hamlets, there was a substantial difference between the number of households officially present and the number in reality. For example, in Namo Sialang, there is a hamlet that is no longer populated, and another is only half populated.

For the survey, consent forms and research information sheets (RIS) (in Indonesian) (see Appendixes D.2 and E.2) were provided to the survey respondents to give them information about the study, to ensure their informed consent and reinforce that participation was voluntary. Since some potential participants are semi-illiterate, the researcher read the Research Information Sheet out loud to potential respondents. The researcher gave information about what the study was about, what information was wanted from the participants, how long the interview would take, how the researcher was going to use the information. The researcher explained that the project is independent research with funds obtained from Lincoln University (ESD research grant) and NZAID, not from the Indonesian government. Then they were asked if they were willing to participate. If they said no, the researcher moved to the next household and repeated the process until the sample size for that hamlet was reached. The researcher then moved to the next hamlet and continued data collection. With respect to participant consent, for the local community, written consent was not possible since about 5 percent of villagers are illiterate. The researcher provided a box to tick on the survey if the respondent agreed to participate after being read the research information sheet.

### **Participatory and field observations**

During the stay in each village, the researcher conducted participatory and field observations to observe community and tourist activities in the research setting and to become familiar with the village landscape and its tourist resources, services, facilities, and attractions. The information gained from participatory observation was used to verify data obtained from other sources and to complement the in-depth interviews and survey. Participatory observation raises a number of practical/tactical, and sometimes ethical, challenges (Veal, 2017), but in this research, all members of the community were aware of the researcher's role and reason for her presence in the village. Through passive participatory observation, the researcher attended and listened to conversations at meetings and events attended by local community and tourism organisations and also at training

activities. The purpose of attending community meetings was to understand how the community makes decisions about aspects of tourism development, the extent of their involvement decision-making process, and to gain insights into the community way of life, behaviour, and interactions.

At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, the researcher attended two community events (i.e., a wedding party and national independence celebration), two community meetings (women only), one community meeting (general), and one training programme for tourism guides conducted by an NGO. At Namo Sialang, the researcher attended two community meetings (one for women only and one general), a training session conducted by the local university from Medan and preparation for a wedding celebration. By attending these events, the researcher could document and understand the context within which the activities and events occurred (Madge & Harrison, 1938 as cited in Clark, Holland, Katz, & Peace, 2009). The researcher also joined training to observe the guides' responses and interactions with other stakeholders (e.g., the NGO).

Besides attending the meetings, the researcher also spent time as an active tourist and took part in everyday community activities. She shopped in the market and observed people's daily interactions within the community and between the host community and tourists. During these activities, the researcher conducted informal conversations with residents about their perceptions of tourism and the benefits derived from tourism development. By doing this, the researcher could experience the regular, routine activities that collectively form everyday life practices that may escape the discursive attention of participants (Madge & Harrison, 1938 as cited at Clark et al., 2009). The researcher recorded the detail of the observations in the form of field notes, which is the basic data recording method (Veal, 2017). Photography was also used as a means to record field data. The photos were used primarily to prompt the researcher's memory. The photos supplemented the information from the field notes taken during the events (Veal, 2017). As per the requirements of the ethics approval for this study, no person was identifiable in the photos presented here.

### **Document analysis**

Document analysis was conducted to elicit the necessary background and historical/contextual information for the study. The documents analysed included policy and planning papers produced by central and local government, research and project reports regarding tourism development in the area, and promotional brochures and websites. The documentary analysis informed the entire research process.

### **3.3.2 Data analysis**

This section explains the data analysis in two parts: the first describes the qualitative data analysis, followed by an analysis of quantitative data.

## Qualitative data analysis

The steps to analyse the results of the in-depth interviews are: transcribing, analysing, verifying, and reporting (Kvale (1996) cited at Guion et al., 2011). Transcribing involves creating a verbatim text of each interview by writing out each question and answer. The interviewer's side notes are also included in the transcription, properly labelled in a separate column or category. For non-recorded interview data, the researcher took field notes in Indonesian. Then, the notes were analysed to identify patterns, themes, or ideas, from both existing theories and new issues that arose from the fieldwork supported by interview quotations or observations. To identify the themes and ideas, the data were coded manually by using open coding (Table 3.4. and 3.5.).

Table 3.4 Examples of themes and sub-themes used in qualitative data analysis.

Themes	Sub-themes
Tourism stakeholders	Themes (e.g., type of stakeholder involved)
	Themes...(e.g., Stakeholder profile)
	Themes...(e.g., Stakeholder role)
	Themes...(e.g., Stakeholder motivation and purpose)
Stakeholder activities	Themes...(e.g., Type of programme/activities)
	Themes...(e.g., Timeframe)
Regulations applied	Themes....

Table 3.5 Examples of categories/themes/sub-themes emerging from the quantitative data.

Community empowerment dimension	Sense of empowerment	Influential factors
Economic empowerment	Themes....	Themes....
	Themes....	Themes....
Psychological empowerment	Themes....	Themes....
Social empowerment	....	
Political empowerment	....	

Open coding involves the researcher breaking down the data into parts and looking for similarities and differences within and across interviews. The researcher used the topics and questions asked to organise the analysis (Kvale (1996) cited at Guion et al., 2011), firstly separately described and analysed the findings from the two communities before conducting a comparative analysis to generate similarities and differences that led to the main conclusions of this study. As the interviews were conducted in Indonesian, all recorded data were transcribed in Indonesian verbatim and, after being organised, were translated into English.

## Quantitative data analysis

The questionnaire survey data was analysed using descriptive statistical analysis (frequency distribution, cross-tabulation), chi-square analysis, and regression analysis using the SPSS statistical package (version 23, Lincoln University License). This type of data analysis has been used in previous

studies to analyse community empowerment outcomes in tourism development (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017; Boley et al., 2015; Chiang & Hsieh, 2012; Kara, 2012; Kundu, 2012; Maruyama et al., 2016a). The answers to open-ended questions from the household survey were entered into an Excel file and analysed in the same way as the data from the interviews. The literature identified several types of data analysis to measure community empowerment outcomes.

A frequency distribution is employed to examine the distribution of each variable (Michael, 2001; Veal, 2017). To facilitate the analysis, particularly for the community empowerment indicators, the scale category was simplified into three categories, i.e., agree, neutral, and disagree. However, the next calculations (chi-square test and regression analysis) still used 7-scale values.

The next step in the quantitative analysis was cross-tabulation that looked for relationships between two or more variables. In this study, cross-tabulation was used to identify the relationships between respondents' characteristics with the indicators of the community empowerment dimensions. Chi-square analysis tests the significance of the relationship between variables (Babbie, 2007; Veal, 2017); it is frequently used as a test of significance in social science. It is based on the *null hypothesis*; the assumption that there is no relationship between the two variables in the total population (Babbie, 2007).

Regression analysis is a mathematical way to sort out which variable has an impact on a phenomenon and is a "go-to method in analytics" that helps work out relationships (Gallo, 2015). To employ regression analysis, the data were divided into dependent and independent variables (Gallo, 2015; Veal, 2017). The community empowerment indicators (economic, psychological, social, and political) were used as the dependent variables. Respondents' demographic characteristics (age, gender, education level), and involvement in the tourism industry and planning process, were used as the independent variables.

### **3.4 Research limitations**

As in any study, particularly in a developing country context, there were a number of limitations in this research. One set of limitations related to a lack of a system for community documentation in the two villages. Most documents were still held in the hard copy held by one person. For example, documentation regarding a tourism project or programme was usually held by the person responsible for the programme, so that when the project finished, or the person no longer worked in the organisation, they did not have any documentation except the final report. This issue was also faced with village documentation, which was often misplaced or unavailable due to a hamlet or village leader changing.



In some cases, data regarding village demography did not exist, and it was difficult for the researcher to get current data, such as the number of people or households in the village. The researcher had to interview all of the hamlet heads to get a list, and not all hamlet heads had records, and where they did this was often out of date. In Indonesia, a population census is usually conducted once every five years, and the data are directly submitted to the census agency. Village authorities do not necessarily have a copy of the census results.

Because of the lack of data regarding community demography, it took longer for the researcher to identify the number of households in the hamlets. In some hamlets, there was a difference between the number obtained from the hamlet head and the household living in those hamlets. For example, in one hamlet, administratively, the number of households was 43; however, in reality, there were only 24 households left. The village members said that those people had moved to another place but the hamlet head does not know where they have gone or their new address; he rarely check the field whether members of his community have changed or not.

Another limitation of this study was the distance between hamlets, which created logistical issues for the researcher. In Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, the distant between hamlets was up to 5 km, while in Namo Sialang, it was up to 15 km. There is no public transportation within the villages to connect the hamlets, so the researcher often had to walk to reach the hamlets from the centre of the village and between hamlets, which extended the time required for fieldwork.

A local issue, which is difficult to explain to outside observers, relates to how community members are defined. In this context, the community refers to an administrative entity rather than a geographical one. If they are “administratively” a member of a particular village, they are more likely to have rights to be involved in the development process and benefit from developments in the area (The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2014). Based on the regulations, people from other communities who live in a village for a long time should change their administrative status to become a member of the village in which they reside, but this often does not occur. If they are “administratively” not members of the village, they cannot be involved in the development process or have the rights of public service from village officials. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, one hamlet is “geographically” part of another village, but many people from the "research setting" for this study live in that hamlet. For example, at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, the hamlet where tourism occurs is geographically part of the village; some who live there are officially residents of other villages but have moved here to be involved in the tourism industry. They have not changed their status because they do not want to deal with the complexity of the bureaucracy, or their village head has not given permission. In this situation, and in consultation with her supervisors, the researcher still surveyed

people who came from another village, since they live and participate in the daily life of the village and the tourism industry.

A challenge in participatory and field observation was the occurrence of internal conflict between the local government (village leader) and the tourism organisation that manages the tourism activities in Namo Sialang village during the period of fieldwork. This conflict occurred due to the implementation of a new policy on tourism from the central government (Ministry of Forestry). The policy requires that anyone who wants to manage tourism activities in a conservation area, including national park, must have a permit from the Ministry of Forestry. The existence of the policy and the expiration of the agreement period between the LPT and the national park (see Chapter Six), caused the LPT to have to register to obtain the permit. The village government wanted to collaborate with the LPT to get the permit, while the LPT, especially the founders (who are mainly the older generation) did not want to work together since they do not need the village official to be involved in their management. The elders want to manage tourism development as "business as usual" since, in their opinion, the current management system is already good. The younger generation in LPT wants to collaborate with the village government to improve tourism management, which furthermore led to a conflict between the young and older generations of the LPT organisation (*pers. comm. LPT members*). This conflict made the village environment a little bit unsettling for the researcher. With suspicions within the community, this flowed over to the interview process. For example, when starting an interview, the interviewee sometimes asked the researcher whether she is a representative of the other party; resulting in a need to reassure the interviewee(s) that she is a neutral party.

Another limitation is related to data analysis. For this study, the empowerment process (how) was mainly discussed in interviews with other stakeholders, while the opinions of the community were mainly recorded in discussing empowerment outcomes.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the methods used to answer the research questions, by employing a case study and a mixed-methods approach. The case study approach is considered appropriate to answer the questions since it allows the researcher to get insights that may explain the reasons for the success or failure of certain innovations (e.g., community empowerment process) that are relevant for the present and future conditions. This method can also illustrate the situation's complexities by recognising more than one contributing factor. The two-research settings were selected to identify how different approaches (top-down and bottom-up) affect the extent of community empowerment. This needs a method that can generate an understanding of the processes because it simultaneously considers multiple factors from multiple sources of evidence and gives insights into the empowerment process and outcomes.

## Chapter 4

# Tourism Development and Community Empowerment in Indonesia

### 4.1 Introduction

This contextual chapter has two aims: to provide general information about Indonesia and to provide background information about tourism development and community empowerment in this country. The chapter consists of three main sections. It first provides a general overview of Indonesia, describing its people, natural and cultural resources; economic conditions; political system; and development planning system. Then it describes the central elements of the country's tourism development, including governance structures, stakeholder involvement, the development of national parks (for tourism), and tourism's contribution to the economy. The third section explains community empowerment in the tourism context in the country (i.e., the empowerment programme in general, community empowerment around a national park, empowerment for women and challenges in achieving community empowerment in tourism development in Indonesia). This chapter provides a context for informed analysis of the research findings in the following chapters.

### 4.2 Indonesia: A general overview

Indonesia is located between the Asian and Australian continents, and between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Among its 17,504 islands are five main islands: Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua Island, and four archipelagos, with a total area of 1,913,578.68 km<sup>2</sup> (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2016) (Figure 4.1). The country has the fourth-largest population in the world: 258 million, or 3.5% of the total world population (Dickson, 2017). The rate of population growth has ranged from 1.2% to 1.46% over the past decade (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017). However, the population is unevenly distributed between islands and provinces. Over half of the Indonesian population lives on Java, although the island is less than 7% of the total land area (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2013). Most of these live in the capital city, Jakarta, which has about 10 million people (Forshee, 2006). Approximately 20% of the population live on Sumatra and about 6% in Kalimantan (the Indonesian part of Borneo island). The rest are dispersed across the other islands (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2013). The high population is a major issue for the government to provide jobs and the basic necessities of daily life (Ilmugeografi.com, 2017a).

Indonesia's economy has, in general, strengthened during the twenty-first century, with an average economic growth of 5.33% per year between 2001 and 2011 (Soleh, 2015). However, the rate of GDP growth has gradually declined in the years since then (Soleh, 2015).

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Figure 4.1 A map of Indonesia (<https://www.mapsofworld.com/indonesia/>).

The contribution from the service sectors to GDP, including tourism, increased to 41% in 2014 from 37% in 2009. This sector is also a crucial source of employment, with 14.2 million jobs created in the last decade, representing about 80% of all job creation in this period.

The increased economic growth and job creation in the service sector including tourism, particularly in urban areas, has helped reduce the proportion of the population in poverty from 16.8% in 2004, to 10.7% in 2016 (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017; Ginting & Aji, 2015). However, with about 60% of the workforce employed in the informal sector, the risk of falling into poverty remains high (Ginting & Aji, 2015). Officially, poverty refers to the economic inability to fulfil basic needs, including food and non-food items, as measured by expenditure (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2016).

The Indonesian political system is based on the *Trias Politica* principle, which means a separation of the legislative, executive, and judiciary arms of government. The legislative arm is the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) and is the highest institution. The executive consists of a president, vice president, and the ministerial cabinet; and the judiciary is run by the Supreme Court, which includes the administrative arrangement of judges (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2016). Indonesia is a unitary republic where sovereignty is in the people's hands and is run entirely by the MPR. Indonesia embraces a presidential system in which the President holds the position of head of state as well as head of government. In carrying out government duties, the President and Vice President are assisted by Cabinet Ministers, who are appointed and dismissed by the President; they are not accountable to

Parliament and do not represent political parties in Parliament (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2016; Sub Direktorat Statistik Politik dan Keamanan, 2014). The number of Ministries and the number of Ministers vary depending on the President's current policy (Sub Direktorat Statistik Politik dan Keamanan, 2014).

The Indonesian government is quite a centralised, bureaucratic decision-making institution (Cole, 2007). Forshee (2006) describes Indonesian political power as “a centre and periphery model,” which means the rulers in a centralised system of state administration exert influence from the centre, which extends out to the periphery. From here, the local government acts as a structural branch that carries out most central government agendas (Sub Direktorat Statistik Politik dan Keamanan, 2014). At the local level, a governor, regent or mayor, and local officials are elements of the regional administration (The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2009).

The hierarchical structure of the Indonesian government sees state administration extending to the village level (Cole, 2007). For efficiency and effectiveness of governance, the Indonesian government is divided into several scales of administrative area, ranging from province to neighbourhood unit or hamlet (Law No. 23 the year 2014; No. 6 the year 2014; Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs No. 5 the Year 2007) (Appendix F). By December 2013, Indonesia consisted of 34 provinces, 413 regencies, 98 cities, 6,982 sub-districts, and 80,714 villages (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2014). The cases presented in this thesis are village units. A village, the smallest administrative area, is defined as:

*The unity of the legal community which has the boundaries of the territory authorised to organise and administer government affairs, local community interests based on community initiatives, rights of origin proposal, and/or traditional rights recognised and respected in the system of government of the Unitary State Republic of Indonesia” (Article 1, Republic of Indonesia Regulation No. 6 Year 2014).*

Indonesian practitioners usually divide villages based on the primary source of the community's livelihood. A “plantation village”, for example, is the term used to define a village in which most residents work in a plantation (Rahardjo, 1999). This designation shapes some decision-making processes and roles at the village level (see Chapter Five). A village can be divided into several smaller non-administrative areas called hamlets (“*dusun*”) (The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2014). Hamlets may be formed based on a community initiative on the basis of increased in population. A hamlet has a leader, or ‘head’, whose role it is to keep community peace and order, implement efforts to protect the community, manage population mobility, and area management.

Based on Law 5/1979, the village is the lowest level of the central government's hierarchy (Dasgupta & Beard, 2007) but in 1999, the central government gave a greater role to the local government to increase government effectiveness through decentralisation (Sub Direktorat Statistik Politik dan

Keamanan, 2014). This policy (popularly known as regional autonomy) thus increased the autonomy of community-level governing bodies. Its goal was to give more flexibility to local governments and to shorten the distance between government and the community. With this policy, government officials who are closest to the community can make decisions concerning the community. However, the right to autonomy does not mean granting sovereignty to local government, because in its implementation, the supreme control remains with the central government (Sub Direktorat Statistik Politik dan Keamanan, 2014).

In addition to vertical power dispersion, there is also horizontal dispersion of state functions to various structures of government that have equal relationships and are functionally connected in a joint effort to achieve national goals (Sub Direktorat Statistik Politik dan Keamanan, 2014). For example, in the context of tourism industry, several ministries, aside from Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (MoTCE), may also have an influence on the tourism-related trade. These are the Ministry for Government Enterprises (BUMN), in charge of the government-owned transportation industry (national airlines, sea lines, rail transportation) and accommodation; the Ministry of Industry, National (and Regional) Investment Coordinating Board; Ministry of Forestry who in charge of national park management (including tourism within national park area); and the Ministry of Trade. They may issue different policies related to the tourism industry (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). As well as the complex bureaucracy in the government structure, Indonesia has a hierarchy of laws and regulations (The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011b) and development planning (Sumodiningrat, 2004). Regulations, policies, and planning range from central government regulations to local regulations (e.g., village government) (Appendix H).

Indonesia is culturally a very diverse nation, with many tribes, religions, and languages. The plurality of the Indonesian community is seen in the nation's principle of unity with the motto "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*", which means "unity in diversity" (Lestari, 2016). Indonesian cultures reflect adaptations to land, climate, and sea with communities in some regions living in relative isolation, but others residing in diversified urban areas (Forshee, 2006). There are over 1,300 ethnic groups, with the Javanese tribes spread across the archipelago, and they make up about 40% of the country's population. The next largest ethnic group are Sundanese (15.5%) and Batak (3.6%) (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2011). This ethnic composition is mirrored in the diversity of *adat* systems (see Section 2.4.3).

The pluralism of the Indonesian community can also be seen in the religious affiliation of the country. Six religions are officially recognised by the Indonesian government: Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucianism. In 2010, the population embracing Islam was 87.18% of the total, Christianity 6.96%; Catholicism 2.91%, Hinduism 1.69%, Buddhism 0.72%; and Confucianism, the

most recent religion recognised by the government, was about 0.05% (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2011). The number of Moslem in Indonesia make the country the largest Muslim population in the world (Ilmugeografi.com, 2017b).

Indonesians use at least two languages; the national language, and a local language. "*Bahasa Indonesia*" is the national language spoken by most of its people. In addition, each ethnicity usually has its own language, e.g., Javanese on Java. Generally, they use the local language in their daily life, such as communicating with other household members or within their community; 79.5% of Indonesians use a local language for daily communication, 19.9% use Indonesian and 0.3% use foreign languages (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2011). The variety of languages across the archipelago developed through the insularity of the islands (some far more so than others) as well as the influxes of people and influences upon them (Forshee, 2006).

Indonesia is recognised as a biodiversity mecca (Ardika, 2002; Astirin, 2000) with highly diverse ecosystems divided into 19 types of natural ecosystems, with 74 types of vegetation (Darajati et al., 2016). In flora diversity, Indonesia is ranked fifth in the world; with over 38,000 species, 55% of which are endemic. Over half of all important timber-producing trees (350 species) can be found in Indonesia (Santosa, 2008) and the country has 10% of all flowering plants in the world. There is great diversity in fauna also, and Indonesia is home to approximately 12% of mammal species including 35 primate species (fourth in the world, 18% endemic) and 17% of all bird species (Ardika, 2002; Astirin, 2000; Santosa, 2008).

The potential for tourism development in Indonesia mainly lies in the diversity of flora, fauna, and ecosystems, alongside cultural diversity. These factors, combined with a varied landscape that includes scenic volcanoes, freshwater lakes, extensive forest areas, coral reefs, and coasts, provide impressive attraction potential for tourism development. As most of Indonesia's natural resources are located in protected areas, many of these have been developed as tourist destinations (see Section 4.3.3).

## **4.3 An overview of tourism development in Indonesia**

### **4.3.1 Tourism's contribution to the Indonesian economy**

In general, Indonesia's focus has been on promoting international tourism, as this is seen as most beneficial for its people. It is important to note, however, that the country has a large and dynamic domestic market with an elastic demand for tourism products (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). Over the past three decades, Indonesia has experienced significant increases in international tourist numbers (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2011). In 1980, it received 562,000 foreign visitors; thirty years

later, in 2010, it welcomed 7 million foreign visitors (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). From 2001 to 2008, the average annual increase in foreign tourists was 4.4% (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2010), and from 2011–2016 (Figure 4.2).

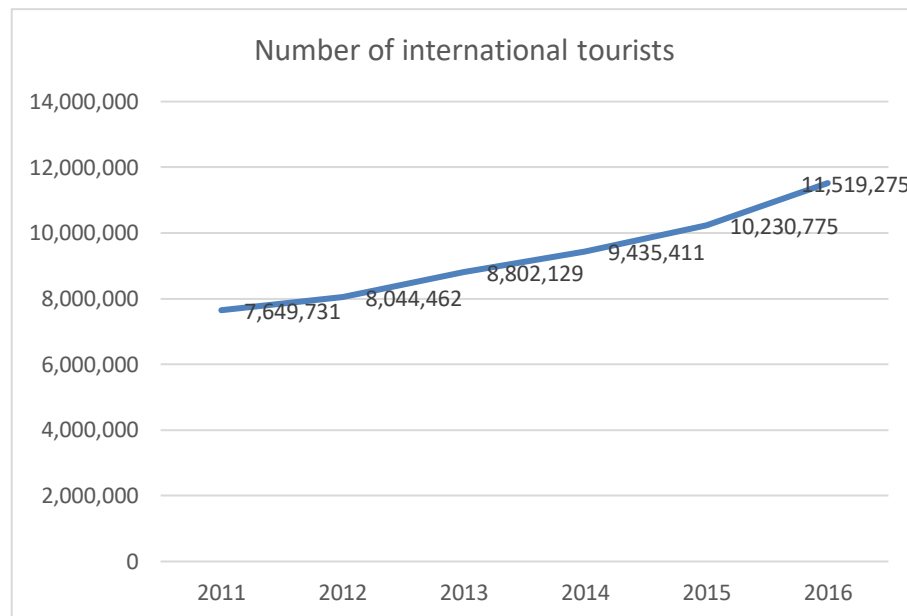


Figure 4.2 Indonesia's international tourist numbers from 2011-16 (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017).

Most of the international tourists come from the Asia Pacific and Europe. The origins of international tourists are shown in Figure 4.3.

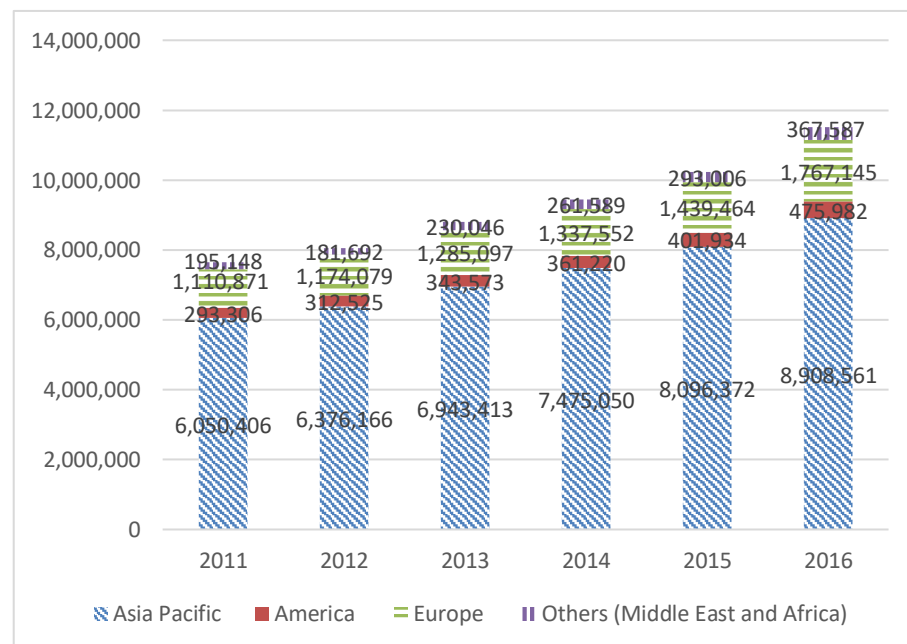


Figure 4.3 Region of origin of international tourists (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017).



International tourists have a different expenditure pattern from domestic tourists. Expenditure by international tourists mostly goes to the accommodation sub-sector, which accounts for 21.77 % of total receipts. Slightly over 10% each is spent on food, shopping, and domestic flights. Domestic tourists mostly spend on transport (43%), shopping (14 %), food (14%), and less than 7% for accommodation (Ardika, 2002). Table 4.1 presents the average expenditure and length of stay of international tourists, which has remained relatively stable, although slightly increased, in recent years.

Table 4.1 Selected indicators of tourism sector performance for Indonesia (2011-2015) (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017).

Year	The average expenditure by international visitors (US\$)	The average length of stay of the international visitors (day)
2011	1,118.26	7.84
2012	1,133.81	7.70
2013	1,142.24	7.65
2014	1,183.43	7.66
2015	1,208.79	8.53

In Indonesia, tourism development has a vital role in increasing workforce participation, encouraging the equalisation of business opportunities and contributing to the country's foreign exchange revenue (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2010; Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2011). Foreign exchange from tourism has always been in the top six earners (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2010). In 2013–2015, tourism was the fourth largest foreign exchange earner after oil and gas, coal, and palm oil, with an average annual increase of 9% (Lembaga Penyelidikan Ekonomi dan Masyarakat, 2018).

The tourism sector employs millions of workers in the hospitality, food, transport, guiding, and craft industries. In 2010, the trade, hotel, and restaurant sectors together employed a workforce second only to agriculture. The Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics reports tourism's contribution to job creation as significant but fluctuating. The data reveal that, from 2000 to 2010, the tourism sector's contribution to jobs (i.e., those, directly and indirectly working in tourism) decreased from 8.11% to 6.87%. (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

### 4.3.2 Key policies (and stakeholders) shaping tourism in Indonesia

In regards to tourism development, the Indonesian government has formulated its vision, which is:

*Indonesia, as a world-class tourism destination, competitive and sustainable, with the capacity to stimulate regional development and people's welfare* (The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011a).

Tourism has been a national development priority for the government for over three decades (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012), with national and regional development policies on tourism commencing in 1954. Today, there are many laws and regulations that 'frame' the development of Indonesia's tourism and a significant number of ministries are involved in and responsible for the country's tourism development (Ardika, 2002). The central policy document for tourism is the Tourism Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 10 2009 (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

Indonesian tourism development planning is documented in the Master Plan of National Tourism Development (RIPPARNAS). The master plan provides direction for tourism development, products, markets, zonation, human resources, and tourist management that aims at developing tourism sustainably. RIPPARNAS also regulates stakeholders' roles so they could work in a synergistic and integrated way to achieve tourism development goals (The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011a). It is an operational reference for tourism development, incorporating economic, social, and cultural considerations that apply to both central and regional government. It's main aims are to improve or increase the quality of management, the number of tourist visits, length of tourist stays, visitor expenditure, and the benefits for the community. However, RIPPARNAS emphasises the importance of tourist attractions for the development of the Indonesian economy, rather than community development (Friedberg & Hilderbrand, 2017).

The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (MoTCE) represents the primary centre for tourism policy development within the national government and numerous other functional units of government's ministries and agencies are involved in tourism (The Government of Republic Indonesia, 2010). Government ministries, aside from MoTCE managing and organising tourism development or issuing policies about tourism development are the Ministry of Forestry (MoF), Ministry of Environment (MoE), Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA), Ministry of Marine and Fishery (MoMF), Ministry for Government Enterprises (MfGE/BUMN), Ministry of Industry, the National (and Regional) Investment Coordinating Board, Ministry of Trade, and Ministry of National Development Planning.

**The MoTCE** is responsible for encouraging and controlling tourism development and tourism industry activities and for promoting tourism for international and domestic markets. It also formulates and implements policies on culture and tourism, which are combined so that tourism development contributes to the development and enrichment of Indonesian culture, and vice versa (Ardika, 2002; The Government of Republic Indonesia, 2010). The MoTCE, along with the Ministry for National Education and Culture (MfNEC) and the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration (MoMT) are

responsible also for human resource development and work together to develop tourism education and training.

The **MoMT** has the authority to supervise and control training for workforce development and it has published “Guidelines on Integrated Rural Sustainable Tourism Development” that was designed to assist local government in promoting sustainable, rural tourism (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). Working alongside MoTCE in the development of tourism is the **MIA**, which is responsible for subordinate local governments that plan and manage tourism development in their respective jurisdictions. The MIA published a guide for local government on tourism development (Ardika, 2002).

The **MoF** has an important role in tourism development due to having authority over National and Forest Parks (*Taman Hutan Raya*), and other protected areas (including marine ones). It is responsible for assisting and organising forestry affairs, including tourism development in forest areas (Ardika, 2002; The Government of Republic Indonesia, 2010). The MoMF has the authority over seas and oceans where marine-based tourism occurs; however, its jurisdiction sometimes overlaps with MoF, particularly for the marine protected areas. Another ministry with overlapping responsibilities with both MoF and MoMF is the MoE, which is in charge of policies concerning environmental sustainability.

While these ministries have interests in tourism, there are other ministries whose portfolios at times overlap with tourism. For example, the Ministry for Agriculture has authority for agro-tourism development, the MfGE/BUMN is in charge of policy related to infrastructure including the transportation industry and accommodations, and the Ministry for Development Acceleration of Less Developed Regions also have policies in certain rural provinces that have tourism potential. The Coordinating Ministry for People’s Welfare is responsible for coordinating tourism development as a tool to improve community welfare and reduce possible undesirable social impacts, and the Ministry for Women Empowerment and Child Protection plays a significant role in providing technical support in promoting gender equality in education and training, including for the tourism industry (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

This complicated web of interests, responsibilities and overlapping portfolios not only makes a cohesive whole-of-government tourism direction difficult but can lead to a clash of interests among the different stakeholders (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

### 4.3.3 Tourism development at national parks

As mentioned previously, much of the tourism in Indonesia takes place in protected areas. In general, in protected areas tourism development is generally focused on developing tourism facilities (e.g., access/roads, accommodation, and infrastructure) and increasing the number of visitors to these areas. In this way, the goals are more focussed on the revenue gained from tourism, and the primary performance indicator for tourism development is to increase tourism business and non-tax state revenue from tourism (*Penerimaan Negara Bukan Pajak/PNBP*), including revenue from tourism activities at a national park (Kementerian Kehutanan, 2010).

Indonesia has 521 protected areas including nature reserves, wildlife sanctuaries, forest parks, nature parks, game parks and national parks (Sekretariat Direktorat Jenderal Perlindungan Hutan dan Konservasi Alam, 2015; The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 1990). A national park is the most advanced type of protected area, such as in management system compared with other protected areas, and receives more significant attention in its development than other types of protected area (Santosa, 2008). A national park is defined as a natural conservation area that has a native ecosystem, managed by a zoning system that is used for several purposes (research, science, education, cultivation, tourism, and recreation) (The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 1990).

A national park is the only protected area managed by a separate management unit under the Ministry of Forestry; the National Park Office (*Balai Taman Nasional*) (Regulation of Ministry of Environment and Forestry No. P.7/Menlhk/Setjen/OTL.0/1/2016). A national park office is responsible for single area management, with its primary responsibilities to protect and maintain the park and monitor negative impacts on natural resources. The central government supports the office with a budget and human resources (*Peraturan Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan No. P.7/Menlhk/Setjen/OTL.0/1/2016*).

At present, there are 50 national parks, including Gunung Leuser National Park (GLNP), the area where the case studies for this research is located (see Section 3.2.2). National parks covers 16.38 million hectares or about 65% of the total Indonesian conservation area (Santosa, 2008; Siswanto, 2017). The MoF retains authority to manage protected areas through its implementing agency, the Directorate General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation (*Direktorat Jenderal Perlindungan Hutan dan Konservasi Alam/PHKA*) (The Government of Republic Indonesia, 2010). In contrast to other ministries with a decentralised system, MoF remains a highly centralised organisation where policies are decided at the ministerial level in Jakarta. This centralised system limits the extent to which management plans and policies can be adapted to circumstances at lower administrative levels (Clifton, 2013). Santosa (2008) argues that a consequence of such a management pattern is that it is more difficult to accommodate community and other stakeholders' aspirations, resulting in the

latter's reluctance to share responsibility for conserving the conservation areas. This situation also creates a lack of cooperation and collaboration between stakeholders in managing protected areas (see Section 4.4.4).

Historically, communities living adjacent to a protected area had a high dependency on the natural resources within the park. However, due to the national park status, they generally experience a negative economic impact due to restricted access to national park resources. Consequently, there has been recognition of a need to develop alternative uses of forest resources to increase community welfare (Kementerian Kehutanan, 2010). Tourism development and tourist activities located in national parks are seen as one way to improve community welfare, by creating new types of business (e.g., transport services, hotels, food, handicrafts) and increasing the people's income (Kementerian Kehutanan, 2010). There is an expectation that this will also reduce community pressure on national park resources (Dunggio & Gunawan, 2009; Kementerian Kehutanan, 2010; Sulastriningsih, Komara, Muslich, & Erwin, 2016).

To carry out tourism development in a protected area, including a national park, stakeholders need a permit, known as a Nature-based Tourism Exploitation Permit (*Ijin Pengusahaan Pariwisata Alam/IPPA*), from central government (i.e., MoF, through the Directorate of Environmental Services and Nature-based Tourism Utilisation). Anyone may apply for a permit, including individuals, private institutions, local government or a group of stakeholders (*Permendagri* Number 33 the Year 2009; Peraturan Pemerintah No.36/2010; Peraturan Menteri Kehutanan No.48/Menhut-II/2010; Peraturan Menteri Kehutanan No.4/Menhut-II/2012). However, local communities, with their limited capacity, often find it difficult to apply for permits because of insufficient capital and capability to meet the requirements for a permit. In addition, the licensing process can take a long time (up to 1.5 years) with a validity period of only two to five years, which makes stakeholders reluctant to apply (*pers. comm. GLNP and OIC representative*). The establishment of *Lembaga Pariwisata Tangkahan* (LPT), the tourism organisation that managed tourism development at Namo Sialang village, marks the first time in Indonesia that a community organisation has been allowed to manage and organise tourism activities without a permit; it has only a legal agreement from the national park manager (see Chapter Six).

#### **4.4 Community empowerment and tourism in Indonesia**

This section gives an overview of the role of tourism in community empowerment in Indonesia. This is discussed in the following four sub-sections in relation to its importance in national park settings, and the particular empowerment programmes that have been established for women. The challenges to achieving community empowerment in tourism development in Indonesia are also outlined.

#### 4.4.1 Overview of community empowerment in Indonesia

The Indonesian government has several definitions incorporating the concept of community empowerment, but in general, it is taken to relate to an effort to create community ability and independence in aspects of economic, social, cultural, political and environmental matters by strengthening village governance, community organisations and community capacity (Kementarian Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2007). In the context of community empowerment for village communities, the central government defines it:

*An effort to develop independence and public welfare by improving villagers' knowledge, attitudes, skills, behavior, ability, awareness, and their use of resources through the establishment of policies, programmes, activities, and assistance in accordance with the essence of the problem and the priority needs of the villagers (The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2014, p. 1).*

In terms of community empowerment around protected areas, including national parks, the MoF defines community empowerment as:

*An effort to develop community's independence and welfare by improving their knowledge, attitude, skills, behaviour, awareness, and ability to use the resources through the establishment of policies, programmes, activities and assistance based on community problems and needs (Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry Republic of Indonesia No. P.43/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1/6/2017).*

In these definitions, empowerment is viewed as both a process and an outcome.

The Indonesian government has conducted community empowerment programmes since the New Order government (1966). Their activities include providing funding support, training, supervision, and assistance to develop infrastructure with the main purpose of alleviating poverty.

The role of tourism in enabling community empowerment first emerged in the second phase of tourism development, and the concept is outlined in the Indonesian National Policy (*Garis Besar Haluan Negara*/GBHN 1993):

*Public awareness and active participation in tourism activities need to be intensified to improve cultural and tourism quality attractiveness while maintaining religious values, national identity image, as well as national dignity.*

As outlined in Chapter Two, public awareness (or knowledge) and active participation are enabling factors for community empowerment. However, the above statement does not mention community involvement in planning or decision-making in development, another enabling factor for community empowerment.

Since then, the Indonesian government has determined a framework of national tourism development, which has become the policy direction, in which community empowerment through tourism development is viewed as an important part its process and outcome (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2010; The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011a). The MoCT currently defines community empowerment as: “an effort to create or enhance community capacity, both individually and collectively, in solving various problems related to the efforts to improve their quality of life, independence and well-being” (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Republik Indonesia, 2011; Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2011). The evidence of community empowerment envisaged through tourism includes developing community potential, capacity and participation through tourism development; increasing the potential and capacity of local human resources through the development of productive activities in tourism; strengthening partnerships between tourism businesses and stakeholders; and increasing community awareness and motivation to recognise and love their country through tourism. An optimisation of gender mainstreaming through tourism development is also viewed as an important outcome (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2011).

In the past, community empowerment programmes have been run by various ministries and agencies. However, stakeholders generally work independently according to their institution's mandate, so the programmes were not integrated. To overcome this sectoral fragmentation, in early 2006 the government established a new programme for poverty alleviation and expansion of employment opportunities called the “National Programme of Community Empowerment (PNPM) *Mandiri*” (Hadi, 2010). This new programme was coordinated by the Coordinating Ministry for People's Welfare and aims to improve community empowerment and independence (Hadi, 2010). The MoCT integrated the PNPM *Mandiri* programme with the community-based tourism programme into one called PNPM *Mandiri* of Tourism in 2007 (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Republik Indonesia, 2011).

The primary purpose of implementation of the PNPM tourism *Mandiri* is to accelerate poverty alleviation and increase employment opportunities by building public awareness and strengthening institutional arrangements so that a community can become a reliable actor in tourism delivery (Peraturan Menteri Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata No. KM.18/HM.001/MKP/ 2011). Approaches and strategies undertaken in the programme include the development of physical infrastructure and intangible assets. Infrastructure improvements include improving access and accommodation provision, while intangible assets were supported through community capacity building (e.g. training to increase community knowledge and awareness about culture preservation, tourism management, culinary, crafts, and language), and the provision of community grants to improve community welfare (Peraturan Menteri Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata No. KM.18/HM.001/MKP/2011) (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Republik Indonesia, 2011).

Conceptually, the PNPM prioritises community participation and empowerment. However, there are challenges in its implementation. First, these goals tend to be superseded in reality by goals to achieve programme and project targets (e.g., the number of community organisation established, the number of training conducted and the number of people participated, infrastructure built/ repaired), with an emphasis on economic outcomes. The purpose is not to encourage or enhance a community's ability to engage in tourism planning. Therefore, the implementation tends to be top-down, ignoring local values and minimising community participation, with a focus on outsiders' goals and values (Hadi, 2010). Second, a lack of coordination between stakeholders (e.g., decision-makers and communities) means the programme is not always aligned with community needs (Fitriani & Rusli, 2014). Third, lack of community awareness related to empowerment programmes has led to a lack of their participation in the programme (Fitriani & Rusli, 2014; Hadi, 2010).

Despite these challenges, in 2009, the programme involved 104 villages in 17 provinces; in 2010, 200 villages in 29 provinces; and, in 2011, 569 villages in 33 provinces, with plans to include 2,000 villages by 2014 (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). Both the case study villages used in this thesis have been part of the general community empowerment programme (*PNPM Mandiri*) that focused on improving roads and bridges, but not the tourism empowerment programmes (see Chapters Five and Six).

#### **4.4.2 Empowerment for the community around a national park area**

A national park has a function to maintain ecological processes that support the improvement of community welfare and quality of life. The ideal desire for a national park are freedom from area disturbance and/or destruction (i.e., the security of the national park) and provision of protection and preservation of natural resources (i.e., conservation function of a national park) (Taman Nasional Gunung Leuser, 2014d). Community empowerment in and around conservation areas is important to ensure the achievement of community welfare and, at the same time, support biodiversity conservation (Santosa & Setyowati, 2016) and needs to be developed as a priority policy in long-term management of conservation areas.

Given the importance of a community's role in supporting efforts to conserve protected areas, in 2017, the central government, through the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, designed regulations on community empowerment around protected areas (i.e., Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry Republic of Indonesia No. P.43/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1/6/2017). This viewpoint is summarised in the national park management guidelines:

*Community empowerment activities around conservation area aims to create a community that is willing and able to develop creativity based on their social, economic, cultural and environmental potential to support the*



*sustainable development of conservation of biological natural resources and their ecosystems in order to increase protection, preservation/guidance, and utilisation of conservation areas for community welfare (Balai Besar Taman Nasional Gunung Leuser, 2015).*

Community empowerment activities, including community development, are conducted to improve their knowledge, skills, and attitude. Capacity building is done through training; mentoring; and/or counseling (Balai Besar Taman Nasional Gunung Leuser, 2015). For example, in the Gunung Leuser National Park (GLNP), a community empowerment programme established a Conservation Village Model (*Model Desa Konservasi*/MDK). The MDK approach is to involve communities in national park management while providing access to communities to use designated area sustainably to support conservation. Currently, the GLNP Office has established 13 MDKs, including Namo Sialang (Renstra BBTNGL 2010-2014) (see Chapter Six).

#### **4.4.3 Empowerment programme for women**

Sustainable tourism development is expected to improve gender equality. Many tourism-related services have opened opportunities for women and it is quite common for women in Indonesia to work in tourism, a situation reported in many developing country contexts (see Section 2.4.3). Some employment generally filled by women is in restaurants and cafés, hotels, retail stores, and other services. A few women work in management roles, including marketing and human resources. However, women still face many constraints and problems in the tourism industry, including lower pay, low-quality jobs, and lack of access to education (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

The central government has considered five areas that could enhance women's empowerment in tourism development: tourism employment, entrepreneurship, education, leadership, and community development (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). However, there is no particular programme to empower women in tourism development (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia, 2018). Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995) suggest that the lack of concern about women's empowerment in tourism development could change if there is increased recognition by government and stakeholders who deal with women's issues of increasing the role of tourism in Indonesia's development.

There is evidence of growing interest in gender equality in other areas within the government. In fact, the state ideology is a powerful source of beliefs about women's status, competencies, and their appropriate role in the household and community (Beard & Cartmill, 2007). Recently, the government has paid particular attention to women's empowerment because of their strategic role at the community level. For example, in addition to their reproductive role and their responsibility

for household management, women make a significant contribution to the maintenance and conservation of local cultural heritage and traditions (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

For this reason, the central government has designed regulations and strategies for women's empowerment. Two examples are the Law on Investment and the Law on Manpower, which emphasis the mainstreaming of gender equality in the operations of small and medium enterprises. The central government, through Presidential Instruction (No.9/2000), has mandated government ministries/bodies at every level to ensure that gender concerns are incorporated in planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of all activities. These responsibilities are coordinated by the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (MWECP) (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

The state is promoting women's empowerment also through national organisations including *Dharma Wanita, Kowani (Kongress Wanita Indonesia* – the Indonesian Women's Congress) and the Ministry of Women's Affairs. At the community level, women's empowerment is promoted through the Women's Family Welfare Organisation (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*), which has a focus on women who live in rural villages or poor urban communities (Beard & Cartmill, 2007).

In terms of women's empowerment in tourism development, in 2010, the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration and the Ministry of Cooperative and Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the MWECP regarding gender equality issues. This MoU provides the foundation for how tourism, a sector largely comprising unregulated workers, should seek to ensure the equal distribution of benefits for both women and men who operate within the sector (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

#### **4.4.4 Challenges in achieving community empowerment in tourism development in Indonesia**

As mentioned in Chapter Two tourism in a developing country has the potential to empower the community, even though the benefits of tourism are not shared equally within or between communities. Developing countries often face several issues, namely lack of community involvement in tourism planning or decision-making process and in the tourism industry due to a lack of information and knowledge, elite domination, discouraging legal frameworks and lack of leadership, lack of capital, and cultural factors; these issues are commonly found in the Indonesian context. This section describes the challenges that Indonesia faces in achieving community empowerment in tourism development, namely inequality development between urban-rural, lack of stakeholder

coordination, lack of community involvement in tourism planning/decision-making process and lack of human resources capacity in tourism.

One of Indonesia's main development issues is the rapid rate of urbanisation, resulting in wider urban-rural disparity. Many of Indonesia's regions have enormous tourism potential, but, currently tourism is concentrated around the main gateway destinations of Bali and Jakarta (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2016; Cholik, 2017). Tourism development in Indonesia is uneven, slowing the rate of economic growth in peripheral regions, such as eastern Indonesia (Cholik, 2017). The government has made several efforts to lessen the gaps and imbalances between Java and the outer islands, with rural sustainable tourism as one of the efforts at reducing poverty throughout the country via the creation of non-farm activities and employment. It is also expected to provide better infrastructure for the locals, support the conservation of natural and cultural heritage, prevent land-use changes to agricultural land and create value-added products (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

Another challenge is social inequity between workers in urban and rural areas, males and females; and permanent and casual workers; formal and informal sector. There is a significant gap between urban-rural wages and salaries and between temporary and permanent workers. A high percentage of those working in trades and tourism have an income of less than IDR 1 million (approximately NZ\$100) per month; 52.86 % in urban areas and, more significantly, 76.23% in rural areas are paid wages of less than IDR 1 million per month. Workers with wages below IDR 600,000 (approximately NZ\$60) represent 21.59% of those in urban areas and 44.33% in rural areas. Over 65% of female workers earn wages or salary of less than IDR 1 million (approximately NZ\$100) per month compared to 52% of males (A CBS Labour Situation Survey (2010) cited in Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

Scholars note that peripheral areas are often economically disadvantaged since economic development, including infrastructure, is often concentrated in core areas (Blackman et al., 2004; Brown & Hall, 2000; Fonseca & Ramos, 2012; Moscardo, 2005; Nash & Martin, 2003; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000) (see Section 2.4.2); Indonesia has a similar challenge. Most tourism infrastructure (e.g., hotels, transport system, communication technology, and road infrastructure) are generally concentrated in bigger cities and major tourist hubs, particularly Java and Bali (Ardika, 2002; Cholik, 2017; Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). Facilities and infrastructure built in rural areas are often developed only for local purposes, which could not serve the needs of the implementation of tourism (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017; Cholik, 2017; Friedberg & Hilderbrand, 2017; Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). Furthermore,

according to the World Economic Forum (WEF) Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index 2010, Indonesia is particularly weak in information and communication technology (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). This condition has resulted in some unsuccessful tourism developments in rural areas, due to difficulties in stakeholder coordination and communication with tourist markets.

The issue of poor stakeholder coordination exists at both national and local levels. Nevertheless, stakeholder coordination is important in achieving community empowerment (see Section 2.3.2). At the national level, the problem is caused by extensive bureaucracy across different levels of government that have different interests or responsibilities linked to tourism. The lack of coordination at the national level could cause poor integration of planning and weak integration between tourism programmes and regulations (i.e., gaps and overlaps in programmes and policy) among ministries and institutions (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). The poor coordination then leads to fragmentation or overlapping in tourism development programmes. This inhibits success in tourism development (Friedberg & Hilderbrand, 2017; Klimmek, 2013; Kusworo & Damanik, 2002; Santosa, 2008) because every institution refers to its own strategic plan as a guide for its programme (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

Poor coordination of stakeholders involved in tourism development has also resulted in weakness in tourism development policies and regulations (Kusworo & Damanik, 2002; Santosa, 2008). The World Economic Forum Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index 2010 shows that Indonesia also weak policy and regulations related to tourism (ranked 123rd out of 133 countries) (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012). The weakness in tourism policy occurs in the conflict between the law and its implementing regulations, or disharmony between higher policy and its derivatives, or between same level policy but issued by different institutions (Santosa, 2008; Setiawan & Kusmawan, 2016). Inconsistencies between state law and its derivatives occur because the regulations can be changed by the relevant ministries or other government institutions, depending on their needs and priorities (Setiawan & Kusmawan, 2016).

In addition, with the implementation of decentralisation, the central government's role has shifted into more directing, coordinating, supervising and empowering through a policy framework, while the local and regional government role has become more essential. This situation will need high-level coordination and understanding between government institutions at the central, regional, and local levels. However, there is an issue where the provincial government and the national government have different perspectives that might affect development. In addition, there is a lack of planning and management capability at the local level due to a culture of following directions from national

institutions (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

Another related challenge in tourism development in Indonesia is the lack of community participation in tourism planning, both at the national and local level (Cholik, 2017), a crucial factor for community empowerment (see Chapter Two). For many local communities, because of their geographical and social-cultural conditions (e.g., the high number of population, diversity of community culture, low of education level), community participation faces many challenges. As communities are generally multicultural, this often influences the local power structure (Midgley, 1986 as cited at Tosun & Timothy, 2003). There is also a highly bureaucratic system (see Section 4.2) that often inhibits community opportunities or intentions to be involved in planning. Overall, due to the high population, community culture, and lack of communication system, the high number of meetings required and the procedures to be completed for significant community participation are often costly to the participants.

Finally, lack of human resources (e.g., community, government official) capacity and ability also become a limiting factor for tourism development and involvement in the tourism industry or the planning/decision-making process (Purnamasari, 2011). Community understanding and perception of tourism with all its implications is also still very limited (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2010). Consequently, central and local governments are still challenged by issues of implementation due to a lack of human resources and a readiness to realise various goals and the pursuit of sustainable development (Friedberg & Hilderbrand, 2017; Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2010; Kusworo & Damanik, 2002; Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia & the International Labour Organization, 2012).

The lack of understanding and misperceptions of sustainable tourism causes a problem in operations (Ardika, 2002) largely because of limited ability and knowledge of tourism among government officials (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2010). Many tourism institution staff have no educational background, expertise or even reference to the tourism sector (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2010; Kusworo & Damanik, 2002). In essence, all of the abovementioned limitations in human resources in tourism governance is an obstacle to tourism development. This is a major challenge since much literature notes that knowledge and understanding of tourism are vital to achieving community empowerment in tourism development (see Chapter Two).

## **4.5 Conclusion**

This chapter provides general information about Indonesia and the research setting for the case study communities. The information includes a general overview of the country, the history, and

organisation of tourism development, and opportunities and challenges for community empowerment in Indonesia. Tourism development becomes a focus in Indonesian policy and plays an important role in the Indonesian economy. However, with the massive potential of tourism attractions, many challenges still exist.

As a developing country with multicultural communities and unique geographical conditions with thousands of islands comprising the country, Indonesia's highly diverse flora, fauna, and ecosystems, as well as cultural diversity, makes it an attractive destination with high tourism potential. Specifically, because most of the country's natural resources are located in protected areas, many of them are being developed as tourism destinations.

Indonesia is a country with peripheral characteristics, in both the geographical and political sense. Geographical challenges can be obstacles if the government still manages centrally, including tourism planning. In a political sense, to add to the complexity of the governance structure, tourism development in Indonesia is managed and organised by many government institutions, which not only makes a cohesive whole-of-government tourism direction difficult but also can lead to a clash of interests among different stakeholders. Furthermore, while tourism has been a national development priority of the Indonesian government and has a vital role in improving community welfare, its geographical size and dispersed nature; its wealth of natural resources; its ethnic and cultural diversity; and its political system, create several challenges to tourism development. These challenges include urban-rural disparities, social inequities, imbalanced physical infrastructure, particularly at tourism destinations in rural areas; and a lack of community participation in tourism development.

As a way to increase community capacity and participation in tourism development, the Indonesian government launched a programme called PNPM *Mandiri* of Tourism. However, the programme focused only on the empowerment of community business groups to improve their products' competitiveness and businesses. In other words, the main purpose of community empowerment in tourism development is to make the community a tourism industry actor, with a focus on the economic outcome, not to encourage community active engagement in tourism planning. However, there are many challenges in implementing community empowerment in tourism development in Indonesia, including lack of stakeholder coordination, a lack of knowledge, and a lack of community involvement in planning. Based on these conditions, there is a need to design appropriate community empowerment strategies, particularly in tourism, to help identify the factors that could facilitate or hinder community empowerment in tourism development.

## Chapter 5

### Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter establishes the field context of one of the case study villages, Perkebunan Bukit Lawang. It presents an integration of the results of documentary analysis, in-depth interviews with tourism stakeholders, and field observations. The chapter consists of four main sections. The first provides a descriptive overview of the village, including its location, environmental characteristics, public facilities, and community demography. Next, it describes tourism development in the village, including its history, the type and range of tourism attractions, activities and facilities, and information about international and domestic tourist numbers and characteristics. The third section discusses the stakeholders involved in tourism development, including their profiles, roles, motivations, purposes, and activities. The final section discusses tourism stakeholders' perceptions of community empowerment.

#### 5.2 Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village: A general overview

Perkebunan Bukit Lawang is located in Bahorok sub-district, Langkat District, Sumatera Utara province (Taman Nasional Gunung Leuser, 2014a). It has an area of 192,660 ha (Buku Isian Profil Desa Perkebunan Bukit Lawang Tahun 2010 as cited in Manik, 2010; Saragih, 2010). The distance between Medan, the capital of North Sumatra, and the village is approximately 90 km – a three-hour trip on public transport or by private vehicle. The access road to Perkebunan Bukit Lawang is asphalt. Maintenance is sporadic, and at the time of fieldwork, I noticed several big potholes along the road.

The name Bukit Lawang was first used for the area in the 1820s. It comes from the Javanese language; “*Bukit*” means hill and “*Lawang*” means door. Therefore, ‘Bukit Lawang’ means “Hill with a door”. The name refers to a cave door that was used by the Dutch government to count the number of workers who came to work each day (Manik, 2010). In the early 1800s, the Dutch government opened a plantation company in the area and imported employees from Java Island. The plantation village of Bukit Lawang was built so that all company employees could stay in one area together (Saragih, 2010), making it easier to: 1) meet employees' needs (by providing public facilities in one place), and 2) communicate and coordinate their employees (*pers. comm. village leader*). Therefore, since most villagers worked for the company, the village was called *Perkebunan Bukit Lawang* (Bukit Lawang Plantation).

In 2010, the village population was 2,030 in 820 households. Key population characteristics/statistics are presented in Table 5.1. There is no more recent documentation of the village demography.

Table 5.1 The demography of Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village.

Demographic feature	Number/percentage
<b>Number of households</b>	<b>820</b>
<b>Population</b>	
Male	<b>1,145 (56%)</b>
Female	<b>885 (44%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,030</b>
<b>Age (years)</b>	
<18	<b>35%</b>
19 – 50	<b>49%</b>
51- 75	<b>13%</b>
>75%	<b>3%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Education</b>	
No-qualification	<b>1.6%</b>
Elementary school	<b>49.0%</b>
Junior high school	<b>13.7%</b>
Senior high school	<b>2.0%</b>
Diploma/undergraduate	<b>14.9%</b>
Unidentified	<b>18.8%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Ethnic composition</b>	
Javanese	<b>73.8%</b>
Karonese	<b>2.9%</b>
Melayu	<b>6.8%</b>
Tapanuli	<b>4.9%</b>
Tobanese	<b>8.6%</b>
Others	<b>3.0%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
<b>Main occupation</b>	
Civil servant/government employee	<b>0.7%</b>
Trader/entrepreneur	<b>22.6%</b>
Farm worker	<b>52%</b>
Farmer	<b>6.1%</b>
Police	<b>0.5%</b>
Guide	<b>4.8%</b>
Plantation company employee	<b>10.2%</b>
Cattleman	<b>2.2%</b>
Craftsman	<b>0.1%</b>
Doctor	<b>0.1%</b>
Nurse	<b>0.7%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village demography book 2010.

According to official village statistics, there are more males (56%) than females (44%) residing in the village. Most of the community is less than 50 years old and nearly half of the population has only



elementary school education. The main occupation of the residents is a farm worker (52%), followed by the entrepreneur (22%) and plantation company employee (10.2%). The vast majority of Perkebunan Bukit Lawang residents are Muslims (92.3%) and most of them belong to the Javanese ethnic group (71.7%) (The Village Government of Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, 2010). The smallest ethnic group in the village is Karonese. This group, with the Tobanese, is indigenous to North Sumatra, the province in which the village is located.

There is a significant cultural difference between these ethnicities. The Karonese hold a genealogy of the clan as their identity. For the Karonese, a clan is important because it is the identity of Karonese within the community. Through the clan, the Karonese can find their hereditary relatives. Even in a new place and having just met, if they come from the same clan, it is a guarantee that they will help each other (Hutabalian, 2014). Karonese and Javanese have a tradition of strong patriarchy, with the common understanding that men are expected to be family leaders, with women occupying roles as “supporter” (br Purba, 2015; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). In this way, women and men are seen to have their own roles and responsibilities within the community and household. For example, women’s roles tend to be linked to the domestic sphere (e.g., homemaking and household chores), whereas men’s status and roles relate more strongly to activities outside the home and in community activities (br Purba, 2015).

The community of Perkebunan Bukit Lawang comprises seven hamlets with the bulk of the population in Dusun VII and Dusun V (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 The types of hamlet and their number of households in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang.

No	Hamlets name	Household number	Type of hamlet (based on most residents main occupation)
1.	Dusun I	75	Plantation hamlet
2.	Dusun II	96	Plantation hamlet
3.	Dusun III	31	Plantation hamlet
4.	Dusun IV	60	Plantation hamlet
5.	Dusun V	132	Ordinary hamlet
6.	Dusun VI	62	Ordinary hamlet
7.	Dusun VII	364	Tourism hamlet
Total		<b>820</b>	

As noted in Table 5.2, the hamlets can be categorised by the *main* occupation, with four hamlets dominated by plantation employees, two with general employment (mixed occupations) and one dominated by employment in tourism (Dusun VII). The way of life in tourism, plantation, and general hamlets differs. The plantation hamlet is mostly occupied by the Javanese who work for a plantation company; general hamlets are inhabited by multi-ethnic groups with many occupations; and the

tourism hamlet is occupied by multi-ethnic groups and foreigners, many of whom are employed, at least on a part-time basis, in tourism.

Figure 5.1 illustrates the geographical dispersal of the hamlets. Notably, Dusun VI is separated from the other hamlets by the Bahorok River, while Dusun I is separated by the main road to Medan. Dusun V is near the gate to Bukit Lawang, about 2 km from Dusun VII. The other three hamlets are located, 5-8 km, or about one hour's walk distance from the tourism hamlet (Figure 5.1). The road that connects the centre of the village to the furthest hamlet is rocky and unsealed, and the hamlet is best accessed on foot or by motorcycle.

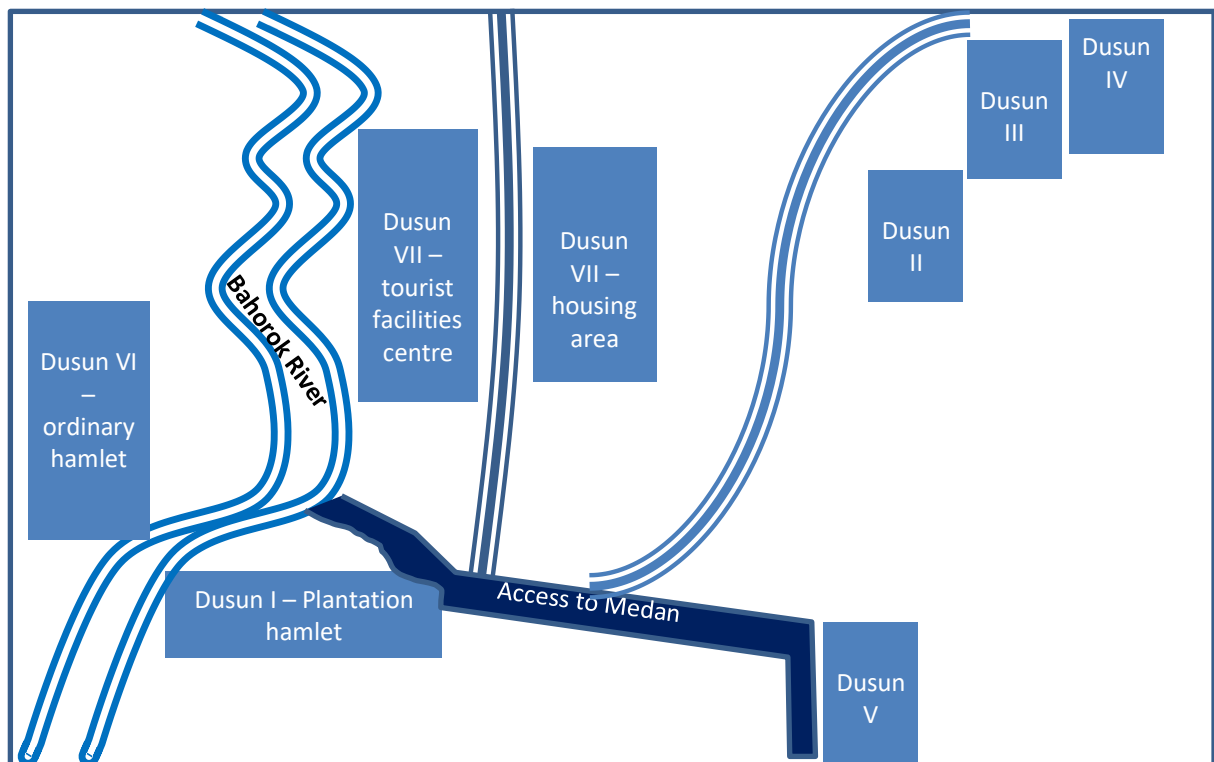


Figure 5.1 Map of hamlet location in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village.

Dusun VII is the newest hamlet. It took shape in the late 1980s as tourist activity in the village began to intensify. Over time, villagers who worked in tourism moved to the hamlet to be closer to their employment, thereby creating a residential area. Dusun VII is divided into two sections; the first is near the Bahorok River, which is where most tourism facilities are located. The second is near the plantation area, where most village residents live. The residential section was built by the government for the victims of a flash flood in 2003 (see Section 5.3.1).

The condition in the two sections is very different. The area where most tourism facilities are located is “messy” and disorganised (Figure 5.2), while the condition in the Dusun VII housing area is more organised (Figure 5.3). However, based on informal conversations with villagers and field observations, some residents of the hamlet do not stay in the housing area because they feel it is too far from the tourism centre, which is where they have their business. Some had sold their houses,

despite this being forbidden by law, to other people from other villages, and used the money to build their tourism businesses or to build a house in another location.



Figure 5.2 Conditions at the centre of the tourism activities/tourism hamlet (Bahorok Riverbank).



Figure 5.3 Conditions in the housing area.

Several of the research participants claimed that the disorganised and crowded condition of the tourism area, as evident in Figure 5.2 above, is in part due to relaxed regulations. People who want to build tourism facilities in the area can set them up without formal permission from the village head, so long as space is available to build on, and he/she has the adequate financial capital. The space in question formally belongs to the plantation company, which has 'lent' it to the central government as part of the rehabilitation area (see Section 5.3.1). The 'opportunity' to develop a tourism venture here has attracted people from other regions. As noted by some interviewees, newcomers often have more capital to invest in tourism than long-term village residents, resulting in some marginalisation of the local community. Interestingly, since the facilities are built on plantation company land, none of the migrant developers have legal ownership of the facilities they build and do not pay tax to the government. As one restaurant owner, originally from a neighbouring village said:

*The flash flood has provided me an opportunity to build food stalls (tourism business) in this area. At that time (after the flood), a lot of land was vacant. I could immediately occupy the land and build this business. (PBL\_R252).*

In the tourism hamlet, some villagers, particularly guides, have married foreign (non-Indonesian) people. Interviews in the current study, and observations in a previous Indonesian study by Manik (2010), indicate that locals and foreigners have a mutual motivation to get into partnerships to build tourism businesses in the area (or marry for convenience to be able to build a tourism business in the village). Local people need money or resources to build their tourism business, while foreigners need locals so they can buy land in the village since, by law, foreign citizens are not allowed to buy a property in the region (Manik, 2010).

There are a number of cases in the village where foreigners (mostly women) from England, France, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Switzerland stay in their own country to raise capital and promote tourism packages, while the partner or husband, who is a Bukit Lawang resident, carries on business in Bukit Lawang (*pers. comm. local residents*).

Residents of the plantation hamlets (i.e., Dusun I, Dusun II, Dusun III, Dusun IV), primarily work for the plantation company. The ordinary hamlets (i.e., Dusun V and Dusun VI), are occupied by retirees from the plantation company and villagers with other occupations. The condition of these other hamlets is similar to each other (Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4 The conditions in the plantation and ordinary hamlets.

Public facilities available in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang include the village government's office, educational facilities, places of worship, electricity, communication, transport and health services facilities. The village government has had a formal office here since 2016. Previously, the village head was based at his private home. Local educational facilities include an early childhood education facility, a kindergarten, an elementary school, and a *madrasah* (Islamic school). Moslems worship in one of five mosques and one *musholla* (small mosque). For Christians, there is a church, the Karonese Protestant Church (GBKP). Health facilities include a public health centre and a polyclinic.

Perkebunan Bukit Lawang has electricity provided by the state electricity company. Most villagers have a mobile phone to facilitate communication with relatives and friends and for business, and there are a few public telephones in the village for community use. In addition, some of the community, especially those engaged in tourism, have internet access. For transport, most community members own a motorcycle. For those who do not, there are two types of public transport, motorcycle taxis and “*bentor*”, a combination of a rickshaw and a motorcycle. Transport beyond the village is generally by public buses.

It should be noted that this village is not isolated and there are several other villages near Bukit Lawang village (e.g., Sampe Raya, Timbang Jaya, and Timbang Lawan) that derive benefits from the tourism development here. Those villages share in the revenue from entrance tickets charged to local visitors. The local government, in particular the Tourism Office of Langkat Regency, implements regulations requiring every domestic visitor who uses a tour bus or group arrival to pay an entrance fee of IDR 3000 (NZ\$0.3)/person. About five percent of the admission fee is distributed to those other villages. Perkebunan Bukit Lawang does not get a share because the village is designated a plantation village and is not entitled to that income.

### **5.3 Tourism development in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang**

#### **5.3.1 History**

Tourism development in Bukit Lawang started when an Orangutan Rehabilitation Centre (Bahorok Orangutan Centre) was built in 1973. This centre was built as a collaborative venture involving the Indonesian government (represented by the Ministry of Forestry), the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and Frankfurt Zoological Society. The centre’s purpose was to rehabilitate the orangutan released from captivity by teaching them the skills they need to survive in the wild (Bukit Lawang.com, 2015; Lestarikan Budaya Melayu Langkat, 2015).

In the first year, only researchers and conservationists visited the centre. When the Sumatran Orangutan Observation Centre (Viewing Centre) was developed, tourists started to visit. The opportunity to see orangutan close-up attracted both local *and* international tourists to the village (Toruan, 2015). In 1976, the Indonesian government built the first guest house for visitors (Bukit Lawang.com, 2015; Lestarikan Budaya Melayu Langkat, 2015).

In January 1980, the rehabilitation centre was handed over to the Indonesian government. The central government appointed the Directorate General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation as manager of the centre (Bukit Lawang.com, 2015; Lestarikan Budaya Melayu Langkat, 2015). Thereafter, tourism activities developed rapidly, despite the government not developing a masterplan for tourism in the area (*pers. comm. GLNP representatives*).



The orangutan rehabilitation project was terminated on 23 April 1991 (Rijksen and Meijaard, 1999 as cited in Dellatore, 2007) and, in 1995 the centre closed and the Indonesian government issued Ministry of Forestry Decree no. 280/1995 which effectively forbade further releases of orangutan at the site (Singleton, n.d). The main reason for closing the centre was that new regulations governing species' reintroduction disallowed the release of orangutan into areas already containing wild populations (Orangutan Reintroduction and Protection Workshop 2001; IUCN/SSC Re-introduction Specialist Group 1995) (Bukit Lawang.com, 2015; Lestarikan Budaya Melayu Langkat, 2015). The other reason was that the growth of tourism had become a threat to rehabilitation efforts, due to the increasing interaction between humans and orangutans. Although the rehabilitation centre no longer exists, the area still hosts orangutan-based tourism, since several populations of the animal remain (Dellatore, 2007).

Initially, the tourist attraction of the village was solely the orangutans, with activities limited to orangutan feeding and viewing. However, with an increased number of visitors came a greater diversity of tourism activities, particularly for domestic tourists. For domestic tourists, the orangutans are little more than a side attraction; most no longer visit the feeding platform to see them. Domestic tourists tend to visit the area to get some fresh air, play around in the river and listen to music. However, the river, the main attraction for domestic visitors, has become severely polluted and unsafe to use for daily needs (Singleton, n.d). Instead of being a 'wildlife' attraction, Bukit Lawang has become a country playground for Medan's urban population (see Section 5.2). For international tourists, orangutan viewing remains the main activity, but the community has sought to develop new activities for them, as jungle trekking and other activities using the river as an attraction (e.g., swimming).

The uncontrolled development of tourism facilities has not been a recent occurrence. Singleton (n.d) noticed that the Bukit Lawang area was marked in the late 1990s by the rapid development of an uncontrolled and haphazard collection of small hostels and food stalls. At this time, the Bukit Lawang community also developed of tourist-focused facilities like bars, restaurants, cafes, and movie screenings (Singleton, n.d). Accommodation also increased from three guesthouses (1989) to 32 (1991) (Bukit Lawang.com, 2015; Lestarikan Budaya Melayu Langkat, 2015); in 2016 there were over 100 (personal observation). With tourism development came a number of negative social impacts, including increased drinking, drugs, and prostitution (*pers. comm. local residents and village government*).

On 2 November 2003, a flash flood swept through Bukit Lawang, destroying the infrastructure along the Bahorok River bank, including about 400 houses, three mosques, eight bridges, 280 kiosks/food stalls and 35 hotels/guest houses. The flood killed 239 people (five of them tourists) (Siagian, 2015).

The local government provided IDR 200 million cash (approximately NZ\$21,000), food, and clothing to flood victims and built the housing area in Dusun VII for the victims (Saragih, 2010). After the flood, the local government (Langkat District) closed all tourism activities in Gunung Leuser National Park (GLNP) because it wanted to re-arrange and improve the area's layout. The closure of GLNP for tourism meant a loss of income and a reduction in the community economic resources and facilities, including communication, transport services, guides, hotels, and restaurants. Even farmers not directly involved in tourism activities experienced the impact since they supplied food stuff to the tourism industry (Siburian, 2006). After six months, the community, especially those whose primary income was from tourism, protested to the local government which led to a re-opening of the area. To re-develop the area, the community received additional financial support from foreigners (Manik, 2010); this was needed as the government provided only limited financial assistance. After eight months of rebuilding, Bukit Lawang re-opened to tourists in July 2004 (Toruan, 2015).

The flood caused changes in the tourism industry in the village. Before the flood, most people involved in tourism were from the Perkebunan Bukit Lawang community. However, after the flood, many people from other villages and foreigners who helped re-build the area got involved in tourism. People from other villages saw the opportunity to build a tourism business. A key factor was the availability of unoccupied land for (re)development – land that had been owned by residents who left the area after the flood. Many local people did not want to return to Bukit Lawang to rebuild their tourism business for psychological reasons (Siagian, 2015; Siburian, 2006), but also because they did not have the capital to rebuild (*pers. comm. local residents*). Along with the re-development of tourism activities in Bukit Lawang, the area near the river again became more crowded and not well ordered (Buku Isian, Profil Desa Bukit Lawang Tahun, Op.cit. Hal. 71 as cited in Manik, 2010) (Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.5 The condition of tourism facilities on the river and riverbank.

The return of tourists and tourism activities also influenced stakeholder efforts to rehabilitate the Sumatran orangutan (*Pongo abelii*) behaviour. Based on an interview with the national park office representative, in early 2015, the national park office implemented a regulation to prohibit the

feeding of orangutans, which was influencing their behaviour and limiting rehabilitation. For example, they were beginning to enter community gardens to find food, and others began to disturb tourists by seeking food, at times attacking tourists who did not comply. However, even though feeding has officially been prohibited, an informal conversation with the national park field manager and some guides revealed that the activity continues. The field manager said they could not entirely stop the activities since they do not have the power to do so. Power here means they do not have enough people and capacity to stop what people are doing. The tourist guides argued that if they did not feed the orangutan, opportunities for interaction between tourists and orangutan would be limited.

### **5.3.2 Current conditions: Tourism attractions, activities, and facilities**

#### **Tourist attractions**

Today, Bukit Lawang has a range of tourist attractions including the former Orangutan Sumatra Observation Centre and viewing area, caves, the Bahorok River, and jungle tracks (Toruan, 2015). Tourist activities at the GLNP include jungle trekking, caving, visiting the orangutan feeding location, and participating in a range of water-based activities (e.g., swimming, tubing, kayaking, rafting, fishing). There are also opportunities to visit local markets and take river trips or motorbike tours. Wedding tourism (see below) is also a feature.

As noted earlier, the main attraction for international tourists is encountering the orangutan. The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) listed the orangutan on its red list as “Critically Endangered” based on the ape’s decreasing numbers (Yayasan Ekosistem Lestari, n.d). For local tourists, the main attraction is the Bahorok River. They relax by the river, swim, go tubing, eat and participate in fishing. Orangutan viewing is not a popular choice for domestic visitors since the cost is considered expensive. To see the orangutan, tourists have to enter the GLNP area and pay an entrance fee. There is a different entrance fee to visit the national park for domestic tourists and international tourists, IDR 5000 (NZ\$0.50) and IDR 150000 (NZ\$16), respectively. If domestic tourists come in a private car or rental bus, they also have to pay IDR 3000 (NZ\$0.30)/per person as a contribution to local government (tourism district) at the entrance gate near the bus station.

The main caves located at Bukit Lawang are the Bat Cave, Swallow Cave, and Ship Cave. Tourists have to pay an entrance fee (IDR 5,000, NZ\$0.50 pp) to the landowners and have to be accompanied by a guide at the cost of IDR 300,000 (approximately NZ\$30) for any size group (Siburian, 2006).

Another tourist attraction of the village is a wedding ceremony and a traditional market. Wedding parties, particularly the entertainment sessions, are public affairs that usually take place in the Gotong Royong market. The festivities last at least one full day. Tourists can see and enjoy different



clothes, music, and food, depending on the ethnic group that has the event. Wedding guests usually give a cash donation, from IDR 50,000 to IDR 100,000 for each person (approximately NZ\$5-10), in an envelope to the groom's parents. Guests may stay to watch the festivities and eat from the wedding buffet, which consists of various foods. Non-family visitors are invited in the evening when entertainment, such as live music, is provided.

The local market is a weekly event, usually held on a Friday in the bus station at *Gotong Royong* (Figure 5.6). The market runs from around 8.00 am until 4.00 pm. Tourists can see workers from the local rubber plantations bringing rubber to be weighed and sold. Market vendors include sellers of fresh fish, dried fish and shrimps, meat, many different fruits, vegetables, spices and *jamu* (traditional medicine), clothes, household goods, fireworks, and others. Other than on Friday, two or three vendors sell fruit and vegetables (Toruan, 2015).



Figure 5.6 The traditional market at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang.

### **Tourism facilities**

As outlined above, the centre of tourism activities and facilities at Bukit Lawang is located in Dusun VII, the closest hamlet to the national park entrance. The facilities available in Dusun VII include accommodation, restaurants, a camping ground, orangutan feeding site, licensed guide, money changer, viewing centre, information corner, visitor centre, terminal, gate, trail, information boards, and a boat for crossing the river to the GLNP (Taman Nasional Gunung Leuser, 2014a; Toruan, 2015). The cost of accommodation in the area ranges from IDR 50000 to IDR 500.000, which is approximately NZ\$5 - \$50 per night. Accommodation is located on both banks of the Bahorok River near the Orangutan Rehabilitation Centre (Figure 5.7). Some accommodation and tour operators in Bukit Lawang have received a "Certificate of Excellence 2015" from Trip Advisor that is awarded to facilities that consistently earn great reviews from travellers.

Almost all tourism businesses in the village are family businesses; there are very few private companies, apart from the "Ecolodge" which is owned by an NGO. However, most tourist facilities

are at least part-owned by foreign investors (Manik, 2010) or Indonesian people from outside the village. Only a few of the tourist facilities are owned by local residents. Foreigners, or local people with a foreign spouse, own most of the high-quality accommodation; while local community member tend to own standard-quality accommodation.

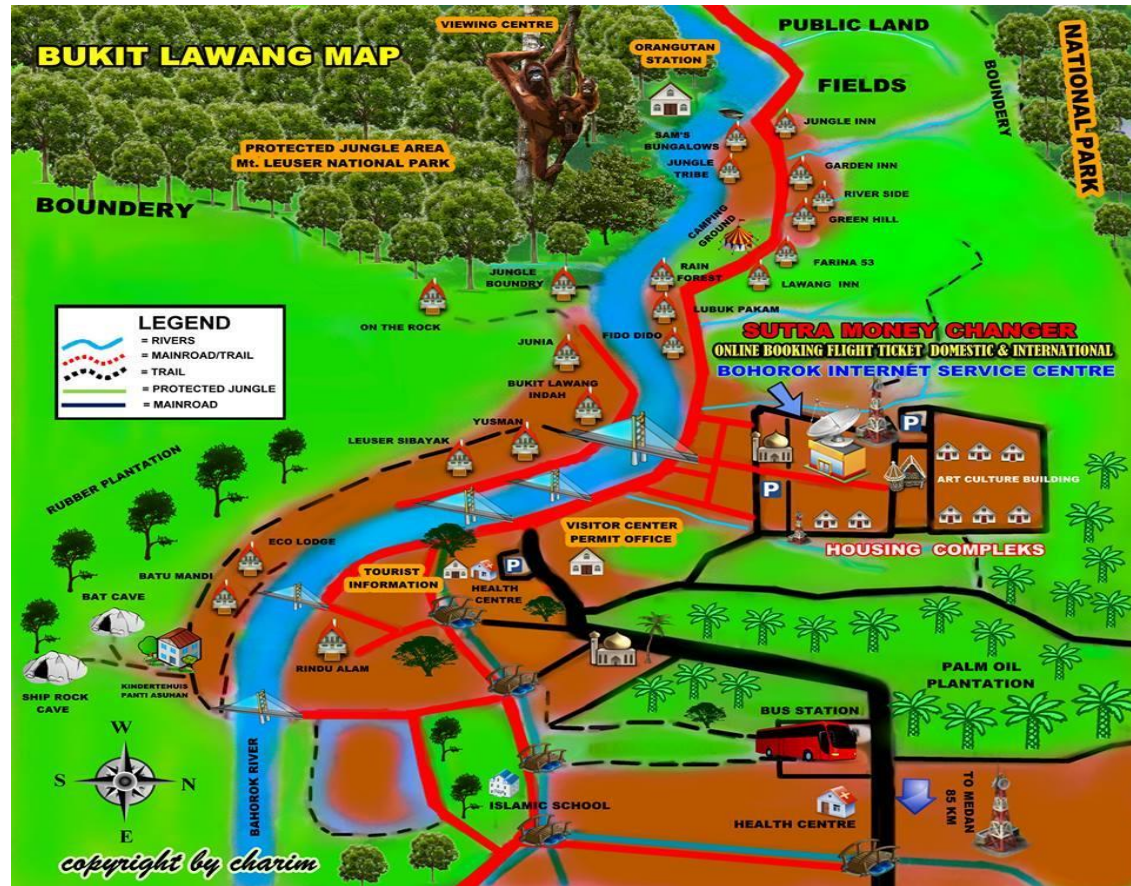


Figure 5.7 Map of tourism facilities at Bukit Lawang (<http://sumatraadventureholidays.com/bukit-lawang-orangutan/>).

### 5.3.3 Tourists numbers and characteristics

Bukit Lawang is one of the main tourist destinations in North Sumatra, both for international and domestic tourists. The number of domestic and international tourists visiting the area from 2010 to 2016 is presented in Figure 5.8. It must be noted that it is challenging to measure the number of tourists coming to Perkebunan Bukit Lawang due to problems with statistics. As shown in Figure 5.8, records for domestic tourist numbers are only available from 2013 to 2015, while data for international tourists from is available from 2010 to 2016. Moreover, it is possible that available data might not reflect actual conditions; the number of tourists, both international and local, is likely to be higher than shown in the figure. The inaccuracy is also because there are some missing data, and HPI does not record all visitors. For example, in 2015, the records are only for May-August and November-December. For other months, the data are missing or are not available (October 2016 onwards). For local tourists, HPI does not record everyone who comes, only those who register with

HPI to come to the region and pay admission fee. Some local tourists, especially those who do not enter the national park area, generally pay admission only at the village entrance gate. In addition, some tourists get a permit from the GLNP office, but others do not (illegal tourists) (*pers. comm. tourism industry members and field observation*). In addition, the documentation of tourist numbers at Bukit Lawang is sometimes combined with other destinations located near the area (e.g., Tangkahan) and they do not keep the raw data (*pers. comm. tourism office representatives*).

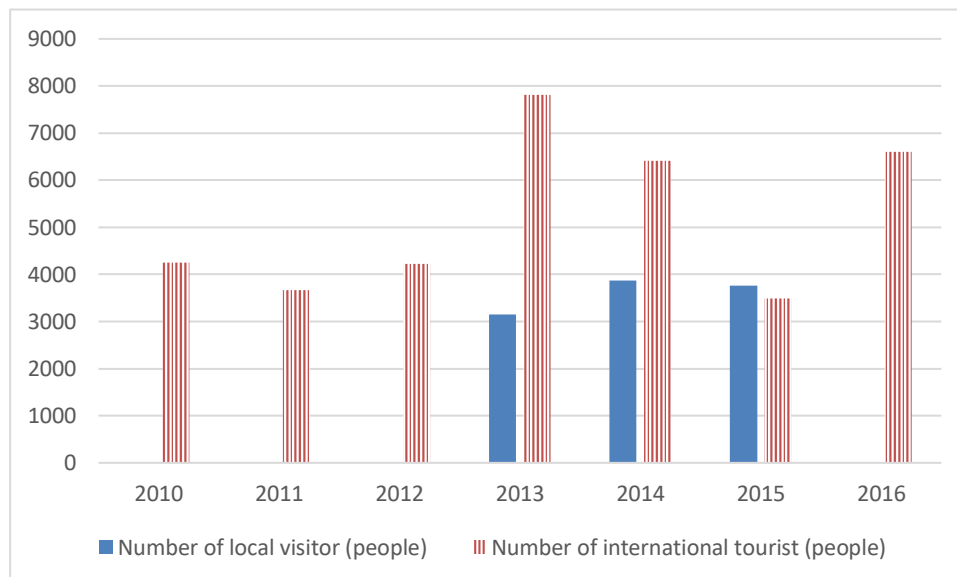


Figure 5.8 The number of domestic and international tourists from 2010 to 2016. (Source: Tourism organisation documentation).

The number of international tourists, particularly those who pay an entrance fee to the national park, is higher than local tourists (Figure 5.8). This is because most domestic tourists do not enter the national park (as noted above). However, the number of domestic tourists is actually greater than that of international tourists. For example, at the weekend, domestic tourist numbers, which can be estimated from the transport they use (Figure 5.9), can reach over two hundred people per day.

Each bus has approximately 66 seats, which means three buses could carry over 190 people. The people stay for about three hours and then other buses come, bringing more tourists. Domestic tourists also use motorcycles and public transportation. On public holidays, they come to Bukit Lawang and could number approximately 2000 people (*pers. comm. HPI representative, tourism industry members*). From this estimate for domestic tourists, the number could reach over 10,000 people per year, while in the recorded figures from available tourism statistics shows less than 4000.

The international tourists who come to Bukit Lawang are from all over the world, and from all age groups. Their main purpose is mostly for a vacation, although some come for research. The length of stay varies from 3 to 14 days. Tourists who stay for a long time usually go trekking in the forest, while those on a short stay usually see only the orangutan and walk around the village. International





Figure 5.9 Domestic tourists in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village

tourists are mostly alone or with friends. For transport, most use public transport, rent a car, or use private transport (*pers. comm. tourism organisation representative*; tourism organisation guest book; personal observation).

Domestic tourists predominantly come from Medan (the capital of Sumatra), villages around Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, and the cities around Medan. Their length of stay is shorter than for international tourists; from three hours to two days. For transport, most uses rented cars, motorcycles and public transport. Local tourists mostly come in a group with friends of family (personal observation).

In the last few years, tourism operators in Bukit Lawang have adopted more sophisticated advertising techniques and marketing technologies. Many operators now have a website, some in English, which reaches a worldwide audience (e.g., Bukit Lawang.com, sumatra-ecotravel.com, <https://www.bukitlawang-jungletrekking.com/>, <http://sumatra-ecotravel.com/>). The websites explain the best time to visit, what to bring, first aid kits, food, liquor, as well as information on local customs or etiquette.

#### **5.4 Tourism stakeholders in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang: Profile, role, and purpose in tourism development**

This section describes the stakeholders involved in tourism in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, including government (local and national), NGOs, the tourism organisation, and the tourism industry. The section defines their different roles, and reasons for participating in the tourism sector. The section includes a brief qualitative analysis of how stakeholders perceive the notion of community empowerment in the context of tourism.

### 5.4.1 Government

The government institutions involved in tourism development and management in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang include representatives of the Ministry of Forestry, Gunung Leuser National Park, and local government (i.e., the Langkat District Tourism Office). Somewhat surprisingly, the “village” government here is not involved in tourism development due to the fact that the area is a plantation village. This reflects a lack of understanding by village government officials about tourism development in their area. As the head of the village said:

*I know nothing about tourism activities in the area. I am not involved in tourism activities, and I am rarely invited to their meetings or tourism planning meetings. (PBL\_VG1)*

The lack of village government involvement in tourism development seems to be caused by a misunderstanding regarding the definition of a ‘village’ among all stakeholders (i.e., national park manager, local governance, tourism industry members, NGOs). Many stakeholders think that since the village is a “plantation village”, the village government cannot be involved in tourism. However, under Indonesian law, there is no official categorisation of “plantation village” (see Section 4.2). Lack of understanding about the village definition seems to have arisen from a lack of communication from central government, which is perhaps due to the distance between the village government (as the smallest administrative area) and central government (President or Ministry that is responsible of the village governance) (see Section 4.2).

#### **Central government (Gunung Leuser National Park)**

Central government, represented by a GLNP official as a representative of the Ministry of Forestry (MoF), has the responsibility to protect the national park area by preventing or reducing negative impacts from tourism activities in the park via the implementation of policy and regulations regarding tourism activities in the area (see Chapter Four). The GLNP is also responsible for collecting the entrance fee to the park from domestic and international tourists. In some ways, the GLNP’s involvement in tourism development in the area is “by default” because the destination is within their authority. The MoF is involved in tourism because the main tourist attraction in the village is the orangutan, which is an endangered and one of the national park’s key species (see Chapter Four). The government expects that the community will support the national park management in achieving its institutional mission and help the government protect the national park. In addition, the government wants to gain non-tax revenue for the state (*pers. comm. GLNP representative*).

The GLNP is also involved in training of tourism-related employees (guides, interpreters) to increase their knowledge and awareness of the protected area and improve the service they provide to tourists. When GLNP conducts training activities in the area, they often contact the HPI to support

them in organising the activities or ask their opinion related to the programme. The activities conducted are mostly in the form of one-off and short-term programmes. These activities are designed for those directly involved in tourism (such as guides). As one interviewee explained: *“Community empowerment is conducted for the community group that related to the tourism activities such as the guides...therefore they are our target. The other group...they are involved in tourism activities”.* (PBL/NS\_CG3)

Currently, the GLNP operates no particular monitoring activities to evaluate its training programme or the progress of tourism development in the village. Lack of monitoring can be explained in large part by the distance of the area from key decision-makers (the office of the Ministry of Forestry), access to the area and the lack of budget. The budget is determined by the Ministry of Forestry located in Jakarta as a result of “a centre and periphery power model” (see Section 4.2). As the interviewee said:

*We could not go to the village all the time. The village is far, and access is difficult; we could spend much time on the road. Another thing is that we do not have enough budget. The central government (Ministry of Forestry) (is the one) who define our budget (PBL/NS\_CG3).*

For monitoring, the national park manager relies on a field officer to provide a monthly report. The report is focused on the activities that have been done by field staff (e.g., patrolling), and a summary of problems occurring within the national park (e.g., encroachment, issues related to wildlife). The manager, who is based in Medan, visits the area occasionally and when budget allows. The manager is mostly focused on recording tourist numbers, and the revenue gained, or issues that could affect national park resources (e.g., threats to orangutan) (*pers. comm. national park representatives*).

### **Local government (Langkat District Tourism Office)**

Local government, represented by the Langkat Tourism Office, is involved in tourism development in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village. The Office is responsible for helping central government coordinate and conduct tourism development in its district (The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2009). Its primary role is to coordinate, plan, implement, and control tourism development and design and implement policy/regulations related to tourism. However, a key focus of its activities is the marketing of the destination to grow visitor numbers and regional income (*Pendapatan Daerah/PAD*). In addition to tourism promotion, the office is involved in infrastructure development (particularly in the tourism hamlet and areas close to the tourism destination) and training for tourism stakeholders (e.g., guides and rangers). Its monitoring activities include recording tourist numbers (based on the tickets sold to visitors), calculating the revenue generated from tourism, and monitoring and responding to tourism-related issues (*pers. comm. tourism office representative*). Notwithstanding these roles, it is rare to see Office representatives in the village

monitoring tourism. The geographical distance of the village is, once again, a potentially limiting factor to undertaking consistent monitoring activities (*pers. comm. tourism office representative*).

#### 5.4.2 Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)

A number of environmental and conservation/wildlife non-government organisations (NGOs) are involved in the village: Bahorok Environmental Education Centre (*Pusat Pendidikan Lingkungan Hidup Bahorok*-PPLH Bahorok, representative of *Yayasan Ekosistem Lestari*/YEL & Sumatran Orangutan Conservation Program/SOCP) and the Orangutan Information Centre (OIC).

##### **Bahorok Environmental Education Centre/*Pusat Pendidikan Lingkungan Hidup Bahorok*-PPLH Bahorok**

PPLH Bahorok started in the Bukit Lawang area in 1998. This organisation is a representative of Yayasan Ekosistem Lestari (YEL), an NGO that has a mission to promote nature conservation and environmental sustainability. The YEL has several divisions in the village: a business division that oversees the Ecolodge [previously known as Bukit Lawang Cottage (tourist accommodation at this village)]; an education division, which includes PPLH Bahorok; and a community development division. PPLH Bahorok was established to improve community awareness of the environment so that environmental problems from daily human activities can be reduced or avoided (Figure 5.10).

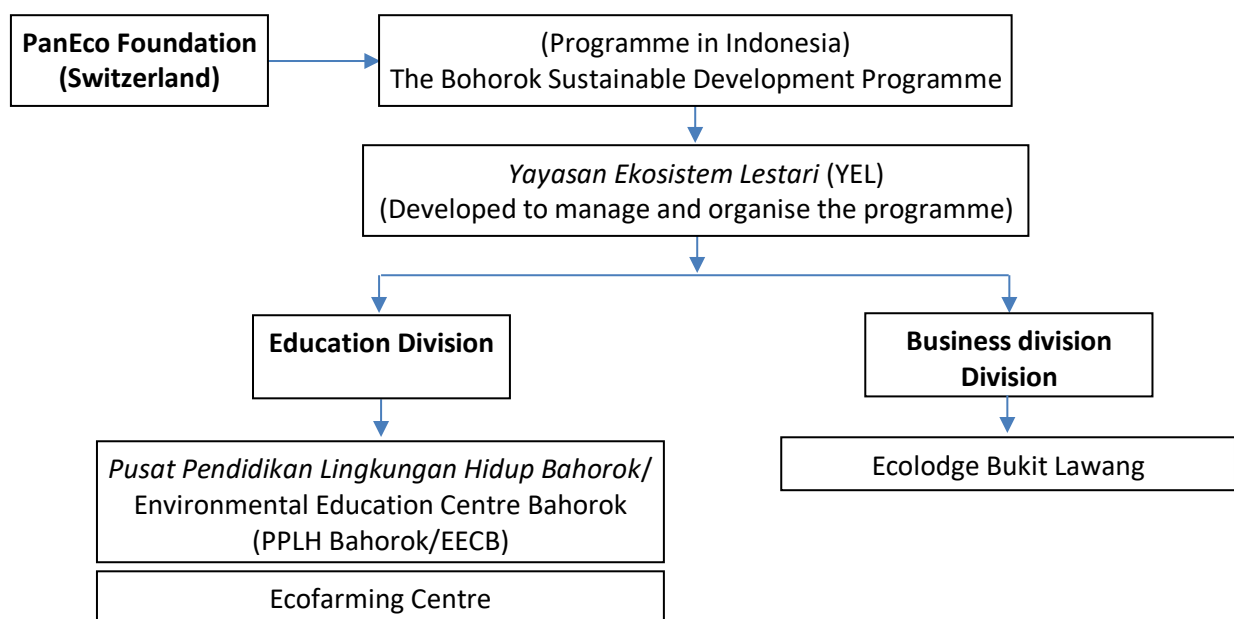


Figure 5.10 *The Yayasan Ekosistem Lestari (YEL) structure (pers. comm. PPLH Bahorok representative).*

PPLH Bohorok is now considered the key stakeholder responsible for developing sustainable tourism in the area, particularly environmental dimensions (*pers. comm. PPLH Bahorok representative*).

However, to date, its monitoring activities are limited to recording the number of participants

attending its activities. The organisation struggles to assess the effectiveness of their programmes, such as how they might influence tourist guides' knowledge and behaviour (*pers. comm. PPLH Bahorok representative*). As the organisation's representative said:

*Monitoring activities undertaken by the agency to assess the success rate of activities that have been implemented is to determine success indicators at the planning stage. The assessment was done after the activities have taken place. The indicators measured are the number of participants who attended the training and the number of people who follow up its results. For example, the agricultural programme may be successful because many people have applied organic farming. As for the education programme, aspects of knowledge and behaviour are relatively difficult to measure. (PBL-NGO6).*

### **Wildlife Conservation NGO (Orangutan Information Centre-OIC)**

This NGO started in 2001, but has not had continuous involvement in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang. The OIC is an Indonesian NGO dedicated to the conservation of Sumatran orangutan and their habitat. Its mission, among others, is: to contribute to saving and conserving orangutan and its habitat; assist local government in the protection and maintenance of protected areas; and support the establishment of a conservation education curriculum and community empowerment programme in Sumatra. Its representative comes to the area only when needed to address orangutan problems, e.g., when some are sick or injured, or to solve human-wildlife conflicts (e.g., when orangutan enter the community farm). Its main motivation is to protect and conserve the environment, including orangutans and the national park. To achieve its goals, it works to improve community welfare in order to get their support for protecting natural resources. One of its representative stated:

*Our institution goal is to save orangutan from the negative impact that resulted from tourism activities. One of our efforts to achieve our goals is by empowering the community. (PBL-NGO5)*

As well as working to reduce the impacts of tourism on the orangutan, the organisation also aims to use tourism as a tool to save wildlife habitat, as explained by its representative:

*Our tourism development purpose is to save wildlife habitat through ecotourism. Our organisation's motivation to get involved is, since Bukit Lawang (PBL village) is an important habitat for orangutan, which is its main attraction, and tourism can affect orangutan negatively. Therefore, we need to get involved and intervene. They have to reduce those negative impacts so that tourism will not endanger orangutan and its habitat. (PBL-NGO5)*

At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village, several programmes conducted by OIC were addressing orangutan conflicts (e.g., orangutan translocation from plantations or community farms); a patrol programme to strengthen ranger capacity; training for guides to improve their ability to serve the



tourists and increase their awareness about orangutan conservation. No monitoring is done for these programmes.

As is the case with the GLNP, the NGO conducts one-off and short-term programmes only and occasionally; it rarely follows them up with monitoring or evaluation. As is the case with central and local government, the peripherality of the village is one of the limiting factors in NGO interactions with the village community. This situation reduces the opportunity to empower the community as per the literature, which emphasises that continuous effort is needed to increase community involvement for sustainable development (Li & Hunter, 2015).

### 5.4.3 Tourism organisations

There is only one tourism organisation operating in this village, *Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia*/Indonesian Tourist Guide Association (HPI/ITGA) Bukit Lawang branch. The HPI/ITGA is the official national association of tourist guides in Indonesia. This nonprofit and non-political association (grouping together licensed and individual tourist guides and honorary members), has a direct connection with professional tourist guides from all around Indonesia (Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia Sumatera Utara, n.d). The local branch manages and organises tourism activities in the village. Tourists who want to participate in activities in the area generally contact the HPI/ITGA, and stakeholders wanting to be involved in tourism development would do the same.

The HPI/ITGA Bukit Lawang branch started in Bukit Lawang in 1991 with approximately 50 members; in 2016, there were approximately 250 members. Its initial goals were to unite and organise all guides in the area. The group's strives to protect guides from accidents during their activities in the forest, and to make it easier for them to apply for funding or identify and access other support from the government. Revenue for the organisation's activities is derived from member contributions, with each guide paying a set sum of money to HPI/ITGA for every tourist they guide.

The day-to-day running of the HPI/ITGA is the responsibility of an executive board elected by its members every four years (Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia Sumatera Utara, n.d). The organisation's mission has broadened since it was first established to include recruiting the next generation of tourism guides, training and place promotion. As one representative explained:

*Now for HPI, its role is to promote the destination. About 70% of HPI (Bukit Lawang) members have been promoting this tourism destination through the website, through other electronic media. (PBL-T09)*

The HPI is often invited by other stakeholders (e.g., the GLNP manager, NGOs, tourism office) to attend meetings relating to tourism development in the area. The stakeholders, in some cases, ask HPI's opinion relating to the content of training programmes they are planning.

#### 5.4.4 Tourism industry stakeholders

In general, apart from the HPI/ITGA, which represents the tour guides, there is little coordination between tourism industry stakeholders, due to the relatively fragmentary nature of the industry. While there are over 100 accommodation businesses and 50 restaurants, most tourism businesses are family-owned by outsiders (see Section 5.3.2). Their main motivation for working in tourism is to enhance their own livelihood.

Approximately twenty tour operators offer tours of Bukit Lawang as part of package deals. Most tour operators based in the area have their own facilities such as accommodation, transport, restaurants, and guiding services. Therefore, tourism in Bukit Lawang is “a one-stop-shop”, which often limits the possibility of these tour operators working with others in the tourism industry, and with the wider community.

To conclude, stakeholders involved in tourism development in this village are not united in a vision and mission for the community, or in the activities, they undertake. The programme and activities planned and designed by the stakeholders are generally based on their personal needs, rather than community needs. In addition, some of the programmes and activities conducted by stakeholders are similar and often target the same participant (e.g., guide and tourism industry employee), which suggests a lack of coordination between stakeholders (see Section 2.3.2) and furthermore leads to differential empowerment outcomes (see Chapter Seven).

In general, the GLNP manager, tourism office, and the NGOs do not interact with the community directly or intensively; usually, they only come to the area for certain events or activities. They interact only with tourism actors, particularly tourism organisation representatives and the guides. The central government (GLNP authority) and HPI/ITGA has a local office in the area. However, the GLNP staff's main responsibility is to monitor the national park resources, while the HPI/ITGA communicate intensively only with its members (i.e., the guides) and the tourists.

A factor that limits the interaction between an external stakeholder (i.e., the GLNP manager, tourism officials, and the NGOs) and the community is the physical distance of the village from the offices of decision-makers and the associated logistical difficulties of regularly visiting and working in the area. The political system also influences what gets done. The village government is the lowest in the Indonesian governance hierarchy, which makes it difficult for them to communicate their issues to representatives of central government, who are the key decision-makers. The village government must go through several procedures that are quite lengthy if they wish to communicate their needs to central government.

## 5.5 How do tourism stakeholders define community empowerment?

During interviews, stakeholders involved in tourism development in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang were asked to discuss what “community empowerment” meant to them. In general, they defined community empowerment as a community’s capacity to: 1) improve their wellbeing, particularly income and welfare; 2) enhance their ability to manage their resources; and 3) improve the service performance provided to tourists. These responses are discussed in the following section.

GLNP representatives defined community empowerment as an effort to improve community capacity (e.g., knowledge) so the community could enhance its welfare (economic dimension). As one male interviewee from the central government said:

*Community empowerment, in my opinion, is an activity that we carry out, which then can increase the capacity of the community, in terms of economy, knowledge, that make people more empowered in all things. (PBL/NS\_CG2).*

This interviewee was aware that empowerment is more than economic, but explained that it is the easiest form to measure. As he said:

*Although empowerment is not only about the economy, what has been done to assess the results is only from the economic aspect. This is because community capacity is difficult to assess and the economic aspect is easier to assess. Moreover, to date, government policy still focuses more on the economic aspect. (PBL/NS\_CG2).*

Like the GLNP official quoted above, a tourism district representative defined community empowerment as an increase in community knowledge, but only considered this in terms of tourism-related knowledge. The male interviewee stated:

*I think community empowerment is an improvement of knowledge and understanding of tourism for the tourism actors so they can perform activities well. Community empowerment activities that have been implemented include the implementation of tourism awareness by inviting tourism practitioners to provide socialisation about tourism activities to tourism actors (e.g., tour guide, tour operators, hotel, and restaurant owners) so that they can perform their service well. (PBL\_LG1).*

Given the focus on tourism knowledge, this informant emphasised only tourism industry members as targets for activities, with the main purpose of serving tourists and focusing on their needs. This perspective is reflected in their community activities, which are targeted only at tourism actors (see Section 5.4), with implications for community empowerment more generally (see Chapter Seven). This informant, who is male, mentioned that implementing even this limited community empowerment programme was challenging because of funding issues:

*We conduct the (community empowerment) activity if funding is available. The tourism office never conducted the monitoring activity for the*

*community empowerment activity. We (the tourism office) only produce a report after an activity was completed. (It is because) we do not have a budget for such (monitoring) activity. (PBL-LG1).*

A PPLH Bahorok representative's understanding of community empowerment also focused on increasing community knowledge, but this was broader than the emphasis of the tourism official:

*Some empowerment activities that can be implemented include providing training required by a guide, such as first aid techniques, search and rescue techniques in the forest, English-language training, and attitude/ethics awareness. Moreover, there is also a need to empower other elements such as restaurant or hotel entrepreneurs, who are also an essential element of tourism, such as teaching them to be more environmental-friendly in terms of reducing chemicals in their food services, so they have more value. Then it also provides knowledge related to waste management, so the environment becomes cleaner, and they are also gain additional income from waste processing. (PBL-NGO6)*

Again, however, the audience for these empowering exercises were limited to the tourism actors (tourism businesses) rather than the wider community. The interviewee's purpose was to improve community capacity as a tourism destination and so increase economic empowerment and people's awareness of the environment. The activities target tourism actors (i.e., guides and tourism industry employees) with information relating to environmental needs.

Supporting the literature on this topic, this NGO representative acknowledged that community culture was a factor in the success or failure of programmes that aim to empower:

*Challenges in conducting community development programmes in this village include local community characteristics such as a high level of suspicion, a strong focus on making money, and lack of environmental awareness. (PBL-NGO6, male).*

However, this response is made by a respondent who is not based in the community and visits only occasionally and briefly, therefore increasing the potential for cultural misunderstandings between the respondent and the community.

The definition offered by the representative of the wildlife conservation NGO was broader than that of previous informants and focused on the importance of incorporating the community in the process of tourism development (empowerment as a process) rather than only as an outcome. He explained:

*Community empowerment is the community involvement in all processes, from planning, implementation to supervision, in which there are efforts to provide changes for natural resources management and their livelihoods. If the purpose of the community involvement is only for managing natural resources without any benefit to their (community) livelihood, it is not a fair empowerment. Therefore, in order that people can benefit from their empowerment process in protected area management, they must be*

*involved at all stages. Yeah, I know that in reality, it is difficult to involve the community from the planning stage. (PBL/NS\_NGO5, male).*

Given the focus of the organisation on wildlife conservation, it is not surprising that his emphasis is on environmental conservation, but like the previous informants, the interviewee generally saw empowerment outcomes in primarily economic terms. This informant also acknowledged that involving the community is difficult, but stressed that this is one reason to involve the community at the beginning of the development process so that the planned activities engage the right people and fulfil what the community needs:

*An ideal activity would be one that suits community needs. Therefore, before design a programme, we should identify the community needs so that the empowerment activities would not be misdirected, achieve the wrong target and wrong participant. If the activity is aligned with their needs, it is expected that the results can overcome their problems, for the social, economic, and cultural reasons. Then also, the empowerment process that involves the community in all stages, not just in the end, will make them feel empowered. Currently, what happens is because they do not see how the process takes place, so there is no learning process. The more important thing is how to create learning opportunities for the community so that the impacts can be sustainable and become a culture. (PBL/NS-NGO5).*

Challenges were also discussed by this interviewee, including regulations and policies, which inhibit community empowerment:

*The main challenge in the community empowerment process is lack of financial support and lack of government support (financial, policy, concern). For empowerment activity, there was no particular programme to monitor it. (PBL/NS-NGO5).*

The NGO representative also noted that community attitudes were a limiting factor to community involvement in empowerment activities:

*The challenge from community participation is their mindset regarding economic motive. They will do anything, even illegal activity such as encroachment, to get money. They always think about money when they want to involve in certain activities. (PBL/NS-NGO5).*

While the central and local government representatives and the NGO informants had some conception of community empowerment, particularly around knowledge transfer and economic empowerment outcomes, the representative of the HPI was only able to provide an example of how tourism could empower a community, particularly economically:

*Community empowerment, huh? Yes, actually there are many (results). Because the communities could sell their product in Bukit Lawang area, for example, watermelon, bananas, pineapple. (PBL-TO9, male).*

Many of the tourism industry stakeholders who were interviewed provided a similar limited response – they had heard about community empowerment, but they could not fully explain what it means. Some who attempted to define it stated it as community involvement or participation in the community or stakeholders' activities and is, therefore, able to benefit. For example, one accommodation owner, who is male, said:

*Community empowerment means that the community has a share (or) involve in certain activities, and they also get the benefit from the activities.*  
**(PBL\_Accom8).**

To conclude, most of the tourism stakeholders in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang have an understanding of what community empowerment means. Some of them also could identify the factors that hinder them in achieving community empowerment outcome. However, most identifiable empowerment outcome by the stakeholder is an economic dimension.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, as a tourist destination, has a peripheral characteristic; it is located some distance away from those who make key decisions. Tourism development in this place generally represents a top-down approach, where the government decides what should happen. This situation (one of peripherality) influences community empowerment in the area as the government may not fully recognise community needs and interests. In addition, as there is no master plan for tourism development in the area, the stakeholders do not have the guidance needed *within* the community to develop tourism in the area.

Stakeholders involved in tourism development in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang include central government (i.e., national park manager as Ministry of Forestry representative) and local government (i.e., District Tourism Office), wildlife conservation NGOs, tourism organisations, and the tourism industry. However, their involvement is generally limited to one-off and short-term programmes. The NGO conducts programmes only occasionally and they rarely follow up with monitoring or evaluation; though the literature suggests that community empowerment needs continuous effort (Li & Hunter, 2015).

In general, the tourism stakeholders' motivations to get involved in tourism development in this village are similar: to increase revenue and improve the local economy. For the GLNP authority and NGOs, they expect economic improvements and see this as crucial for them to carry out their responsibilities and develop and implement high-quality programmes and activities they in the village.

The interview results suggest that a lack of coordination was hindering community empowerment (see Chapter 10, Section 10.4.3). It can be seen from similar programmes conducted by stakeholders (e.g., GLNP authority, NGOs) and focused on the same target groups (i.e., HPI/ITGA members,

tourism industry members). In addition, the programmes conducted by stakeholders are planned mostly based on tourists' needs instead of the community's needs. The community is expected to provide better services to visitors and not to increase their ability to make a decision.

With respect to community empowerment, it seems that tourism stakeholders do not fully understand the concept of community empowerment. Most stakeholders define community empowerment as community capacity development and community participation, with the main goal of local economic improvement. The focus of community empowerment is therefore more about satisfying tourists' needs, and the needs of the environment, rather than those of the community.

## Chapter 6

### Namo Sialang village

#### 6.1 Introduction

Namo Sialang is the second case study location for this study. As outlined in Chapter Three, it is a village whose community initiated tourism development as an alternative livelihood to illegal logging activities. The community has been involved in tourism planning and is supported by various stakeholders, including representatives from central government agencies (GNLP authority as a representative of the Ministry of Forestry) and NGOs. This chapter establishes the context of Namu Sialang for this study. As in the previous chapter, this is the result of research in the community, including in-depth interviews with tourism stakeholders, document analysis, and participatory observation. The chapter consists of four main sections describing the general conditions of the village and how tourism has developed and evolved there. The first section gives a general overview of the village, including features of its location, public facilities, and community demography. The second section discusses tourism development in the village, and includes commentary on the nature and state of local tourism facilities, attractions, and activities. It also provides information about tourist numbers and visitor characteristics. The third section discusses stakeholder involvement in tourism development, including their profile, role, motivation, purpose, and activities. The fourth section discusses tourism stakeholder perceptions of community empowerment.

#### 6.2 Namu Sialang: A general overview

Namu Sialang is located in Batang Serangan Sub District, Langkat District, North Sumatra Province (Sari, 2008; Wijaya, 2009). It is one of the closest villages to Gunung Leuser National Park (GLNP). Namu Sialang is divided into 18 sub-villages or hamlets (Ginting et al., 2010) that are grouped into tourism, ordinary and plantation hamlets (see Chapter Four). There is one tourism hamlet (*Kwala Buluh*), 11 ordinary hamlets, and five plantation hamlets (Table 6.1). Namu Sialang has a community tourism organisation called *Lembaga Pariwisata Tangkahan* (LPT).

The area's hamlets are located quite sporadically, with the distance between them and the village centre (*Cinta Raja hamlet*) ranging up to 12 km. The furthest is *Kwala Buluh* Hamlet, which is the main tourism destination (Tangkahan) (see Figure 6.1). Conditions in the hamlets are quite different. The hamlet located closest to the village centre and the hamlet which is the main tourist destination have better public facilities and infrastructure – such as roads – than those located far from the village centre, and those not accessed by tourism operators (Figure 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4).





There is no senior high school in this village. The nearest senior high school is located over 20 km away. Children usually use public transport, such as a small bus, to get to school. If villagers want to send their children to a college, they usually send them to the capital, Medan city. This village has eight mosques, three *Musholla* (small mosques) and five churches. There are also over 60 minimarts/grocery stores and 12-food stalls in the village (source: field observation).



Figure 6.2 Road conditions in a hamlet near Namo Sialang centre and the access way to the tourism destination.



Figure 6.3 Road conditions in a hamlet far from Namo Sialang centre and a hamlet that is not on access to the tourism destination.

The plantation hamlets, even though they are located far from the village centre and not involved in tourism, have well-maintained roads. This is because the plantation company supports the development and upkeep of those hamlets (Figure 6.4).

The key features of community demography are presented in Table 6.2. In 2010, the total village population was 4,461. There is a relatively even split of males and females, and nearly half of the village members were over 50 years of age. The village demography book does not record community education levels. There are five ethnicities recorded in the demography book; the largest groups are Karonese and Javanese. The Karonese live in the ordinary hamlet near the forest, and the Javanese generally live in plantation hamlets; most work at the oil palm and rubber plantation company (Nasution, 2010). The language most often used in the area is Karo, despite over half the

population not being of this ethnic group (Kaur, 2010). As in other communities, the Karonese and Javanese in this village have a patriarchal culture (Purba, 2015; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995) (see Section 5.2).



Figure 6.4 Road conditions in plantation hamlets

Table 6.2 Namo Sialang village demography (source: Demography yearbook 2010)

Demography	Number/percentage
<b>Number of households</b>	<b>1035</b>
<b>Number of people</b>	
Male	2,263 (51.00%)
Female	2,198 (49.00%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,461</b>
<b>Age (years)</b>	
Less than 20	2.36%
21-29	21.00%
30-49	28.74%
Over 50 years	47.90%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Ethnic composition</b>	
Batak Karo	42.54%
Javanese	41.51%
Tapanuli	8.48%
Madina	3.72%
Others	3.75%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Occupation</b>	
Farmer	20.51%
Odd jobs/other	40.85%
Plantation employee	36.90%
Entrepreneur	1.05%
Civil servant/government employee	0.67%
Guide	0.02%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

Just over a third of the community work as plantation company employees followed by farming. The largest category of employment is “Odd jobs/other”, which, based on informal conversations,

includes “housewives”, tourism industry employees and the unemployed. Results in a study by Ginting et al. (2010) show that villagers who had livelihoods related to tourism came from the Kwala Buluh and Kwala Unggas hamlets that are located adjacent to the tourist area.

### **6.3 Tourism development in Namo Sialang**

Namo Sialang has one tourism destination, the Tangkahan Ecotourism Destination. It is located at Kwala Buluh, approximately 13 km from the village centre (Cinta Raja hamlet). Tangkahan is located between a palm oil plantation and the GLNP at a bend in the Buluh River, where it joins the Batang Serangan River (Purwanto, 2015; Wijaya, 2009). Tangkahan forest is part of the Leuser Ecosystem area, GLNP, which is a habitat for the Sumatran orangutan.

Access to Tangkahan is quite difficult because of the lack of public transport and road conditions. There are two ways to get to Tangkahan: by a private car and public transport (a bus runs from Tangkahan to Medan). The travel time is 4.5-6 hours; longer if it is raining. The cost of the bus trip is IDR 15000 -25000 (NZ\$ 2-3) per person and buses run from 9 am to 4 pm. An alternative is a passenger bus which runs from Medan to Namo Sialang, and then continues by motor-taxi to Tangkahan. Visitors can also get to Tangkahan from Bukit Lawang by hiring a motorbike or a 4WD; prices are up to IDR 1,000,000 (NZ\$ 100) for a one-way trip (Sumatera Travel, 2014). Public transport to Tangkahan is not improving because most tourists, particularly international ones, generally use rental cars or ask the accommodation owner where they stay to pick them up. Local visitors usually use private vehicles such as cars or motorbikes.

#### **6.3.1 History**

As outlined in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2, Tangkahan is a tourism destination that was developed based on a local community initiative. The local community initiated tourism development in Tangkahan because it wanted to reduce the reliance on and problems associated with illegal logging (The Government of Langkat District, 2010).

Namo Sialang, particularly Tangkahan, was inhabited in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by Karonese who moved from their homeland to seek a new livelihood. Initially they met their needs by farming and using forest products (Harahap, 2012; Kaur, 2010; Purwanto, 2015; Sari, 2014; The Government of Langkat District, 2010). In 1930, their livelihood changed to timber harvesting when business persons from outside the community began a wood processing business and involved local people as labour in timber management (Kaur, 2010; Sari, 2014). In the mid-1960s, the community started farming again at the former timber harvesting area (Kaur, 2010; Sari, 2014) and began to sell forest products (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; The Government of Langkat District, 2010). In late 1970, the life pattern of the Namo Sialang community changed again when the Indonesian Government

implemented policies to increase the non-oil and gas sector and opened a plantation company around the village. The government brought in other ethnic groups, including Javanese, to work in the oil palm plantations (Kaur, 2010). As the population increased, forest clearing for plantations became more widespread (Kaur, 2010). Timber harvesting then became a valuable part of people's daily life. Timber trading can be done by anyone who has money as well as a reliable workforce. Increases in timber harvesting activities caused fierce competition among community members and led to frequent confrontations and conflict (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; The Government of Langkat District, 2010).

In early 1980, the central government defined Tangkahan Forest as a protected area, making timber harvesting illegal. Based on this policy, the government arrested several of the main illegal loggers (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; The Government of Langkat District, 2010). When released from custody at the end of 1980, some former illegal loggers took the initiative to establish a tourism destination. During that time, people were already visiting the Batang Serang River from outside Tangkahan. Seeing the potential, the former illegal loggers, followed by some community leaders and youth from Kuala Gemoh and Kuala Buluh, started to collect a fee (with the support from the village government) and provide services (e.g., to sell food and drinks at the tourist site, providing a river crossing service, and security services for vehicle parking) (Kaur, 2010).

Between 1980 and 2015, tourist numbers to the area increased significantly, from 100 to approximately 2000 visits/week (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; The Government of Langkat District, 2010). In early 1990, a guide from Bukit Lawang started bringing foreign tourists to Tangkahan through the forest. Some guides from Bukit Lawang saw that Tangkahan was a good prospect as a tourism destination, so they started to invest in accommodation, particularly those who had a foreign spouse or partner (e.g., Bamboo River Lodge in 1995 and Jungle Lodge in 1997). These activities resulted in increased numbers of tourists through the forest, which exposed them to evidence of illegal logging which was continuing. This situation led to news of illegal logging becoming more widespread. The consequence was that many stakeholders from outside the area started to pay attention to the village situation and to be involved in reducing illegal logging. The interaction between visitors and illegal loggers led to varying levels of conflict, with many guides having to protect their clients. The increased number of visits also led to conflicts between tourism actors, as each group took turns to control tourism and get revenue from it.

At the end of 1999, the community leaders from the villages around Tangkahan (Namo Sialang and Sei Serdang) coordinated with tourists, tour guides and community leaders to formulate a joint agenda for the eradication of illegal logging (Kaur, 2010). In 2000, they collaborated with other stakeholders, NGOs, journalists, and academics, to ask the government to take action against illegal logging. The

Ministry of Forestry responded by doing direct observation around Leuser area and recommended joint operations between several stakeholders (e.g., central government, local government, community, tourism actors from Bukit Lawang and Tangkahan, NGOs) to stop illegal logging activities. The operations in Tangkahan caused further conflict between community members. For example, the Illegal logger protectors turned on the accommodation owners because they housed the joint operation officers in their accommodation. The conflict stopped tourism activities in Tangkahan for a short time (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; The Government of Langkat District, 2010).

In 2001, tourism activities were revived, pioneered by the younger generation of Namo Sialang and Sei Serdang villages who wanted to use tourism to strengthen the local economy. A group of young people formed the Tangkahan Simalem Rangers on April 22, 2001, an association that initiated tourism development using rivers and forests as tourist attractions. They also tried to stop illegal logging and encroachment activities that still occurred in the area, often in direct opposition to the activities of their parents. This cohort of younger villagers realised that they could not do it by themselves since they had to challenge their parents to achieve their goals, so they sought support from a tourism NGO.

On 19 May 2001, on the initiative of Tangkahan Simalem Rangers, the leaders and members of the illegal logger's group and community leaders of both villages involved in the conflict, gathered and agreed to collaboratively develop tourism via the formation of a tourism organisation, *Lembaga Pariwisata Tangkahan* (LPT – the Tangkahan tourism organisation). This meeting was titled the First Congress of the Tangkahan Tourism Organisation (LPT). In the congress, the community elected a board, developed a management framework (*Anggaran Dasar/Anggaran Rumah Tangga*) and established the basic principles of tourism development for the area. The congress was an important milestone in the preservation of GLNP by communities, and the achievement of the local youth movement (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; The Government of Langkat District, 2010).

The group that initiated tourism came from the Karonese ethnic group, who afterward were influential in the destinations development, and the empowerment of the community. LPT representatives met the national park manager facilitated by some volunteers (university students) who had been working in the area since early 1999. The meeting resulted in an agreement to stop illegal logging in favour of tourism activities. The agreement between LPT and the GLNP manager was signed on 22 April 2002. In this agreement, the GLNP manager gave legal rights to the community at Namo Sialang and Sei Serdang villages through LPT to manage a part of the national park (17,500 ha). In return, the communities of both villages are responsible for the security and sustainability of the national park area adjacent to their village (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; The Government of Langkat District, 2010). The agreement provided an opportunity for the communities to participate in conservation; to use the conservation area; and offered a chance to make decisions appropriate to



their condition. Over time, this youth movement turned into a social activity that actively supported and assisted their elders in community social activities, meetings, and various cultural activities. This movement attracted sympathy from the parents and older adults, who then become involved and resulted in a changed community mindset about tourism development (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; The Government of Langkat District, 2010).

This agreement was the first of its kind in Indonesia, and LPT was the first community institution with the legal power from central government to manage and organise tourism activities in a national park. The national park manager took very courageous action in giving the communities the right to manage a part of the park since no regulations were covering it. The applicable regulation obliges every stakeholder who wants to conduct tourism activities in national parks to apply for a permit (*Ijin Pengusahaan Pariwisata Alam/ IPPA*) (see Chapter Four). The manager gave that legal right because he saw the change in community behaviour (*pers. comm. representatives of the national park manager and tourism organisation board*). The national park manager hoped that with that agreement, the conservation purpose of the Leuser ecosystem development could be achieved and the community capacity could increase, especially the economic aspect (Verriall, 2011). The agreement given by central government can be seen as an effort to empower the community politically as well as economically, since it provides legal powers and recognises it as an institution with extensive rights to control the land, to make rules, and to establish mechanisms to enforce these rules (Sofield & Li, 2007).

The agreement with the national park manager has not resulted in the complete cessation of illegal logging activity, encroachment, and other natural resource destruction activities. Local conflicts still occur, but it has fostered the community to reach several formal and informal agreements between community groups. The year 2002 was an adjustment period for social integration between LPT and other groups (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; The Government of Langkat District, 2010). In early 2003, LPT conducted Congress II and invited various stakeholders including the GLNP authority, Forest Service, Langkat Tourism office, NGOs (Flora Fauna International and INDECON), and students with different abilities and skills, who were expected to support tourism development in Tangkahan and help improve community skills and knowledge. This congress was a historic moment, as LPT became an open organisation for all the residents of two villages, so all residents are members of LPT with the same rights and obligations.

At that time, LPT formulated the Village Regulations of the Tangkahan Ecotourism Zone that regulate all-natural resources conservation, the local economy, social aspects (the role of youth, customs, religions), and regional spatial planning in ecotourism development. In the restructuring of LPT organisation, Tangkahan Simalem Rangers became one LPT division. These regulations were the first that directly regulated conservation aspects and social institution that was designed with input from

community members. In the same year, there was an extension of the agreement between the GLNP manager and head of LPT related to the allocation of entrance fee and permit (SIMAKSI) fees, and the park began to develop physical infrastructure, with increasing support from various stakeholders such as NGOs, universities and local government (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; The Government of Langkat District, 2010).

The Tangkahan Ecotourism Zone was officially launched in 2004, and the same year received a national award for "Innovation of Indonesian Tourism" from the Minister of Culture and Tourism for its participatory management model (Kaur, 2010; Taman Nasional Gunung Leuser, 2014c). On 23 July 2006, Congress III LPT was held, and a new agreement was signed which saw LPT, in collaboration with the national park, being allowed to manage tourism activities at GLNP, and an era of integration between economic returns and ecology in Tangkahan began (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; The Government of Langkat District, 2010). In mid-2006, the Tangkahan visitor centre was built, with financial and marketing support from the INDECON/tourism NGO. Between 2009 and 2014, LPT received financial aid from NGOs (e.g., INDECON, OIC, CRU) and central government (i.e., Ministry of Forestry and Ministry of Tourism and Creative economic) to further develop tourism infrastructure and promote the destination. LPT also hosted a series of training courses in tourism and the manufacture of organic fertiliser as an alternative livelihood for local communities. The period also saw a review of ecotourism planning and financial support for the design of new village regulations (No.7/2014, 22 January 2014) (Harahap, 2012; Purwanto, 2015; Sari, 2014; The Government of Langkat District, 2010; Verrial, 2011).

### **6.3.2 Current conditions: Tourist attractions, activities, and facilities**

#### **Tourist Attractions**

Tangkahan is one of eight tourism destinations in GLNP, and has the tagline of "The Hidden Paradise in North Sumatra". Tangkahan has a variety of natural attractions such as elephant riding and washing, scenic landscapes (e.g., Butterfly Beach and Lobangan Peak), hot springs, waterfalls, caves, cliffs, a high diversity of flora and fauna, and tropical rainforest with several loop trails (Wijaya, 2009). Tangkahan has trained elephants that are part of a Conservation Response Unit (CRU) funded by Flora Fauna International (FFI) Medan, whose primary role is to monitor and protect the national park from illegal activities like animal poaching and logging. Seven trained elephants at Tangkahan are available for jungle tracking (Sumatera Travel, 2014). They are popular tourist attractions, particularly for international visitors who participate in elephant riding and elephant washing (Figure 6.5). Tourists can arrange to go for a short jungle trek on elephants, with a 1-hour elephant jungle trek costing IDR 650,000 (NZ\$ 65-68) per person. Elephant washing is conducted every day at 9.00 am and 4.00 pm. Tourists need to purchase a ticket at the visitor centre for IDR 20000 (NZ\$ 2-3) per



person before they go to the elephant camp (Sumatera Travel, 2014). The elephant activity organiser (CRU) will not accept tourists without a ticket from LPT.



Figure 6.5 Elephant bathing, one tourism attraction, and activity at Tangkahan.

Butterfly Beach is another attraction, located 500 meters from the edge of the upstream Musam River, where tourists can see hundreds of colourful butterflies of various sizes. The location can be reached by crossing Buluh River in a small boat. This phenomenon appears only at 6.00 am (Harahap, 2012). Another interesting place is the flower garden at Puncak Lobangan. Based on information from locals, tourists can view a sea of flowers at certain times of the year.

Other natural resources of interest to tourists include hot springs in the Tangkahan. These are located in several locations, including Sei (River) Buluh, Sei Sekucip, Sei Serdang, and Sei Musam (Nasution, 2010). The source of the hot springs is a cave that is large enough that people can lie down and soak their body in its stream (Kaur, 2010). There are several caves in Tangkahan (e.g., Sekuncip cave and Kalong cave) (Kaur, 2010; Sari, 2011). There are also 14 waterfalls in Tangkahan (Kaur, 2010; Nasution, 2010). To see all these natural attractions, tourists can either walk through the forest or travel down the Buluh River by boat (Kaur, 2010).

Tourists also have a chance to learn about flora and fauna of the forest. Exotic flora in the area includes the rare flower *Rafflesia*. No fewer than 11 *Rafflesia* subspecies are found in this area (Kaur, 2010). Other flora in this area are *Amorphophallus* spp., many dipterocarp species, and *Ficus* spp. (Harahap, 2012). The wildlife includes Sumatran elephants (*Elephas maximus sumatranus*), the protected Sumatran tiger (*Panthera tigris sumatrae*), Sumatran rhino (*Dicerorhinus sumatrensis*), siamang (*Hylobates syndactylus*), owa (*Hylobates lar*), and kedih (*Presbytis thomasi*). Visitors can also see different bird species such as eagles, hornbills, and kuau, various snake species, and various fish species (Kaur, 2010). However, as discussed in Chapter Five, it is the Sumatran orangutan (*Pongo abelii*), which is the flagship species of GLNP (Verrial, 2011).

Tangkahan also has several trails, suitable for youth, family, and adventurers. The *Rafflesia* track is the longest, at 40.3km. This journey takes three days and two nights to get back to the Visitors

Centre (Kaur, 2010; Sari, 2011). The family track is about 1.8 km or 2.5-hour walk; it is the most accessible track and passable by all ages. For some tracks, tourists have to be accompanied by a Forest Ranger and Porter to bring food, mattress, tent, tires for tubing and life vest. These tracking activities can be done on foot or by riding an elephant (elephant trekking).

In addition to trekking, the other tourism activities that can be done at Tangkahan are white water rafting and tubing, caving, camping, agro-tourism (Sebayang, 2015), picnicking, cycling (Wijaya, 2009) and experiencing traditional massage (*Pijat/Kusuk*) by local therapists (Wiranatha, 2015). White water rafting and tubing conducted on the Batang Serangan river is led by a guide to ensure tourist is safe (Harahap, 2012). Caving must also be conducted with a guide to ensure their safety (Harahap, 2012). The LPT has developed two types of camping. The first is “mass camping” developed far away from the national park. The second is “limited camping” developed within the national park. In the latter, tourists learn that environmentally friendly campers have a minimal negative impact on national park biodiversity. This type has a limited reservation system (Nasution, 2010; Sari, 2011). In agro-tourism, tourists can harvest farm products such as sweet oranges (Harahap, 2012).

## Facilities

Tourist facilities available at Tangkahan include accommodation, restaurants, food stalls, cafes, coffee shops, one tour operator (Community Tour Operator/CTO) (see Section 5.4.3), a visitor centre (Figure 6.6), traditional water transport made from wood and bamboo (*rakit*), trails, tubing equipment, a camping ground, and a public toilet.



Figure 6.6 Food stalls (left) and Tangkahan visitor centre (CTO) (right).

Electricity is provided at night by a generator until 11.00 pm. Communication by mobile phone is only in certain places because of signal issues. The nearest telecommunication facility is a telephone stall located in Cinta Raja, 13 km from Tangkahan. Parking is also limited (personal observation).

Almost all tourism businesses in Namo Sialang are family businesses. There are five-food stalls owned by community members that are often visited by domestic tourists because of more affordable prices than the restaurants. Street vendors generally sell food and beverages such as noodles, cold

drinks and other light snacks. A rental business at Tangkahan has mats and swimming tires. On weekends and holidays, the local community around the area takes advantage of tourist visits to open seasonal businesses like food and souvenir stalls at Tangkahan. Seasonal businesses are charged IDR 3000 (NZ\$ 0.30) by LPT to get a permit to do their business (Sebayang, 2015). The visitor centre is for visitor services, e.g., tourist package information and bookings, administrative matters, information services regarding accommodation (Sari, 2011).

In 2016, there were twelve inns scattered around Tangkahan and several more being built, compared to three in 2006 (Harahap, 2012). The first accommodation lodge was built in 1996 by a guide from Bukit Lawang. Most businesses in Tangkahan were initially opened and built by guides from Bukit Lawang who saw the potential and business opportunities in Tangkahan. The success achieved by the migrant community inspired the local community to similar businesses to earn more income (Sebayang, 2015). There are approximately 84 rooms available in the area. Each room could house two to four people, which means the village could host 336 guests per night. Most accommodation is built with natural materials such as rocks from rivers and wood from Tangkahan forest (Kaur, 2010). All accommodation businesses are located in the tourism hamlet. The daily rates range from IDR 50,000 to- IDR 250,000 (NZ\$6 - 25) with very simple facilities.

There are a range of tourist service businesses also, including river crossing and guide services. Tangkahan has several tourist attractions separated by the river; can be reached only by crossing the Batang Serangan River. The crossing is done using a “*getek*” (a raft made of bamboo) at the cost of IDR 3000-4000 (approximately NZ\$0.30-0.40) per person return. There is also a rubber boat that can be rented for a river safari, trekking up and down Buluh and Batang Serangan Rivers.

As outlined above, many of the activities undertaken by tourists are nature-based, and require guides to accompany them on the activity. Guides, who are mostly local people, in Tangkahan are mostly able to communicate in English.

### **6.3.3 Tourist numbers and characteristics**

This village has an advanced marketing and promotional strategy. The LPT and other stakeholders have established a website ([www.tangkahanecotourism.com](http://www.tangkahanecotourism.com)) in Bahasa and English that reaches a worldwide market. Tangkahan has grown to become a key tourism destination in North Sumatra (Purwanto, 2015). Tourist numbers, both domestic and international, increased over the 2003 – 2016 period, although there is no data for the period between 2011-2013 (Figure 6.7).

Most visitors are domestic tourists originating from Medan, and the surrounding area (Sari, 2008) and Java Island (Jakarta, Central Java, East Java) (Sari, 2011). Local visitors usually come in groups or with family. Their main purposes are recreation, leisure, camping, and research (Sari, 2008).

International tourists usually come in very small groups. Local visitors usually visit on weekends or holidays, whereas international tourists mostly come in July and August (Sebayang, 2015). Most foreign tourists come from Europe (e.g., France, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, and Britain), Thailand, Australia, Canada, America, and Japan (Sari, 2011; Sebayang, 2015).

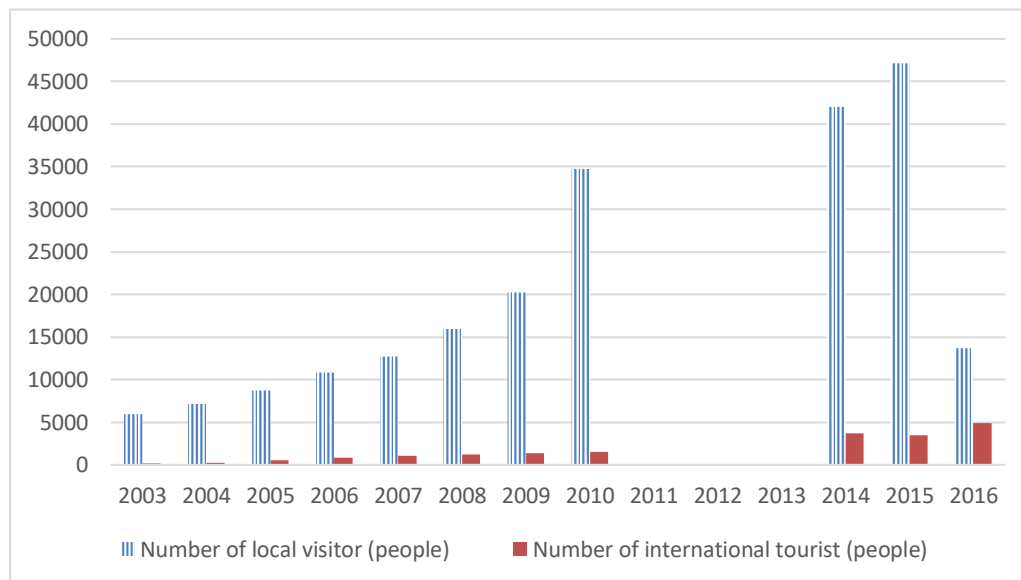


Figure 6.7 The annual number of local and international tourists in Tangkahan (Source: Lembaga Pariwisata Tangkahan (2011), Langkat District tourism office (2016).

## 6.4 Tourism stakeholders in Namo Sialang: Profile, role, and purpose in tourism development

Stakeholders involved in tourism development in Namo Sialang village are the local government (village government); central government (GLNP manager – representative of Ministry of Forestry); NGOs such as tourism NGOs (Indonesian Ecotourism Network/ INDECON and wildlife NGO (Conservation Response Unit/CRU – part of Flora Fauna International/FFI programme; Orangutan Information Centre/OIC); tourism organisation (LPT); and tourism industry stakeholders. Those stakeholders have different roles and involvement in the village and the following discussion outlines their roles in more detail.

### 6.4.1 Government

#### Central government (Gunung Leuser National Park)

GLNP started to be involved in tourism development in Namo Sialang, particularly Tangkahan, through the GLNP in 2000 (see Section 6.3.1). As in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, the Gunung Leuser National Park (GLNP) manager is the key representative of the central government, with similar motivation and mission (see Section 5.4.1), with a particular focus on stopping illegal logging. Community support is needed to solve the problem, and the GLNP cooperates with the community to achieve this goal. The GLNP is more involved in Namo Sialang than in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang.

For example, the national park has a field officer who is based in Tangkahan and has a responsibility to maintain trained elephants as an important tourist attraction in the area and also helps with training guides, conservation cadre, and interpreters. Staff from the GLNP accompany and support the community in the field to cooperate with other institutions supporting activities at Tangkahan, and facilitates LPT members visiting other tourist sites to see what happens elsewhere and to share experiences with other stakeholders.

The national park manager has also conducted a community empowerment programme called the Conservation Village Model (CCM/MDK-*Model Desa Konservasi*) that was directed to support conservation area management. Since GLNP manager's mission is to protect the national park resources, the community empowerment programme mainly aims to enhance community capacity so that the community could help the GLNP in achieving its mission. In other words, community empowerment is only part of its programme with the main purpose of supporting the community being to achieving the GLNP's mission. The activities in this programme, including socialisation activities on an annual basis and capital support, such as providing the equipment needed by the community. The GLNP manager asks the local field officer to provide monthly reports monitoring activities. The tourism organisation (LPT) provides an annual report that contains the number of visits and amount of revenue going to the national park (see below).

#### **Local government (Namo Sialang village government)**

The village government in Namo Sialang has been involved in tourism development in Tangkahan since the initial stage around 1980 (see Section 6.3.1). The head of the village is assisted by staff as an element of village organisation (UU no 6/2014). Initially, the village government had a vital role in tourism development in Tangkahan (e.g., design regulation, monitoring activity). Currently, the village has an official role as an advisor for tourism development and supports the tourism organisation in legal aspects, e.g., signs letters needed by the tourism organisation; and maintains safety and security in the village. The village's official motivation for tourism involvement is to improve community welfare; the area is part of the village, and the people who initiated tourism development are members of the village. Therefore, the village is officially involved in supporting development.

#### **6.4.2 Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)**

There are several NGOs involved in tourism development in Namo Sialang village. In general, they play a role in facilitating community development to increase their capacity and ability to serve tourist needs and organise tourism activities, in the form of education or training. They also help to build a network with others stakeholder, and help community members access funding to support their operation. These organisations are discussed in more detail below.

## Indonesian Ecotourism Network (INDECON)

The Indonesian Ecotourism Network (INDECON) NGO was the first NGO involved in tourism development at Tangkahan and was involved intensively from 2000 to 2006. Currently, the NGO is not directly involved in the area, but still communicates occasionally by phone to monitor the tourism management processes, and LPT sends an update most years regarding tourist numbers coming to the area and asks for recommendations when there is a problem. The more limited involvement now is due to issues with limited funding, and the fact that the community no longer needs its help and advice as it did previously (*pers. comm. INDECON representative*).

INDECON was established in 1995 as a non-profit organisation focussed on developing and promoting ecotourism in Indonesia with a vision to become the centre of Indonesian ecotourism research, development, training, and promotion. The goal has been to develop and promote ecotourism in Indonesia to conserve biodiversity and culture as tourism assets. This NGO became involved in Namo Sialang because the community (i.e., representatives of Tangkahan Simalem Ranger/young generation) approached it to help develop tourism activities as an alternative to illegal logging. As the representative said:

*Yeah, first we saw, the challenge actually, that it is interesting challenge. I saw sincere hope from the community (to) change. So the plea should be greeted and the challenge (which) I know (that) it is not small since there is still wood drifting (from illegal logging activity) at the time. So I am motivated to think this is an interesting challenge for the conservation area.*  
**(NS\_NGO4).**

INDECON supported and facilitated the community in tourism planning. In the process, the community designed an agreement on long-term tourism management principles as a master plan that defines ecotourism activities, the parking area, how to monitor the ecotourism destination, and zoning. INDECON conducted several programmes and activities conducted in Namo Sialang to aide with participatory planning. The programme included improving community capacity by connecting them with other stakeholders, increasing community ability in problem-solving and improving management and organisational skills. For capacity building, the activities conducted were training activities related to tourism for guides and LPT members (e.g., Search and Rescue, interpretation). They also helped LPT with marketing, promotion, and tourism product development. The community was taught about ecotourism versus mass tourism principles; inventory, identification and conservation of natural and cultural resources; services for tourists; tourism activity monitoring; hygiene aspects in food processing; administration; English language; handicraft for souvenirs; and tourist preferences. They helped conduct tour trials, spread the news (*Press tour*), and helped make brochures and CDs to distribute through "travel mart" activities in Medan, Jakarta and international events such as ITB Berlin. This NGO also assisted the community in developing institutional capacity

by connecting them with local government both Langkat District and North Sumatra province. The community also learned how to build a network with other stakeholders and through the support of INDECON, got recognition from other stakeholders regarding its authority to manage tourism activities in the area (*pers. comm. INDECON representative*).

The NGO was also involved in developing local regulations and village policy regarding the Tangkahan Ecotourism development, which was designed by the community, particularly LPT members together with volunteers. LPT members learned how to write and design village regulations on environmental and tourism management, the tourism manager's role and responsibilities, a benefit-sharing mechanism and a policy about the cooperation between the LPT and other stakeholders (*pers. comm. INDECON representative*).

### **Orangutan Information Centre (OIC)**

OIC is an Indonesian wildlife NGO dedicated to conserving the Sumatran orangutan and its habitat and works to raise community awareness of the conservation strategies of Sumatran orangutan. OIC has been involved more intensively in Tangkahan (Namo Sialang) than in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang. OIC's involvement in Namo Sialang started in 2001, but is not continuous; it becomes involved only when needed to address the orangutan issues, e.g., when some are sick, injured, or there is human-wildlife conflict. Tangkahan is an essential habitat for orangutan, and tourism can have negative impacts on the species' existence. Consequently, the organisation needs to be involved and intervene in activities (*pers. comm. OIC representative*).

OIC uses community empowerment as a tool to improve community awareness about conserving orangutan and seeks to do this through community education and communication, particularly to youth, and to promote sustainable community development initiatives, including ecotourism, through training and capacity building in the local community. They also collaborate with other NGOs, local and international, and businesses working towards parallel goals; to conserve Sumatran orangutan, and work with local people to preserve and restore rainforest habitat. They work with the local government also in the protection and maintenance of protected areas (*pers. comm. OIC representative*).

The NGOs conducted several community activities in the area, but primarily involving LPT board members and tourism industry representatives. In 2008-09, the organisation had a specific programme for this village called the Tangkahan Ecotourism Development Initiative (TEDI). The programme consists of several activities, namely equipping guides with a uniform, the Asian Digital Opportunity Centre (ADOC) programme, and designing a masterplan and village policy regarding the Tangkahan ecotourism development. ADOC aims to increase communities' capacity to promote their destination to the outside world by developing books, website, and a movie. The programmes

include website management training as a trainer (so they can teach others), English training, home visits, school visit, and conservation camps to introduce the place to the community and build the community's sense of pride. Other activities in the area include rainforest restoration activities and a pilot scheme to establish organic gardens (including training for the community on how to adopt the system). The NGO also facilitated Community Tour Operator (CTO) (see Section 6.4.3) members to participate in tourism fairs in Medan. At this event, the community was encouraged to learn about market characteristics and marketing strategy. Direct interaction with the market helps the community to have a better understanding of tourists' preferences. Finally, the NGO conducted socialisation about natural resources conservation to enhance community awareness and willingness to participate in protecting the area. However, the organisation does not have any evaluation or monitoring of the success of their programmes (*pers. comm. OIC representative*).

### **Conservation Response Unit (CRU)**

Another wildlife NGO involved at Tangkahan is CRU, and this is the only NGO that has a permanent presence in the village. The main responsibility of this organisation, and its representative, is to take care of the trained elephants. The CRU programme has been ongoing since 2003 and has four objectives: mitigate human-elephant conflict; reduce wildlife crime activities in an important elephant habitat through forest patrols and monitoring; raise local people's awareness of elephant and orangutan conservation and habitat; and establish community-based ecotourism to ensure CRU's long-term financial sustainability (Fauna & Flora International, n.d). Initially, CRU worked at Tangkahan to support national park programmes, such as conflict mitigation and community-based forest safeguard schemes. When the community decided to improve its welfare by developing tourism activities, the organisation felt it necessary to support the efforts as they felt tourism development could support their primary goals of wildlife and habitat preservation (*pers. comm. OIC representative*). CRU works to reduce the negative impacts of tourism, so they do not endanger wildlife and its habitat. They do this through their existing activities, but also through training for rangers and host experts, their partners and volunteers to support and improve community capacity for ecotourism (*pers. comm. CRU representative*).

### **6.4.3 Tourism organisations**

#### ***Lembaga Pariwisata Tangkahan (LPT)***

As stated above, the LPT was formed as a result of a community desire to find an alternative livelihood to illegal logging in ecotourism, so improving the local economy (see Section 6.3.1). The community chose ecotourism because, in the opinion of LPT, ecotourism can provide benefits to the community. LPT is the official caretaker responsible for organising tourism matters and has a role as a decision-maker in tourism development at Tangkahan. The organisation, which consists of local



community members, works collaboratively with the GLNP manager to manage and organise tourism development in the area (Section 6.3.1). The organisation's board comprises community members from Namo Sialang and Sei Serdang. They are usually selected by agreement ("*musyawarah*") in the congress they conduct every three years. The board's members generally come from the same ethnic group, which is the Karonese; or people who have "integrated" into this ethnic group (usually by marriage).

The objectives of LPT's strategy are to protect, conserve, and utilise GLNP in a sustainable manner and to increase local community capacity so it will be able to optimise potential development. LPT, through its board, manages and organises tourism activities in the area, including planning, and monitoring activities, and marketing and promotion. They work to develop the Tangkahan tourism area into an international tourist destination; to strengthen the tourism sector in Namo Sialang and Sei Serdang; and to develop a global network (Wijaya, 2009).

On a daily basis, the LPT's role is to manage tourism activities in the area, such as organising the guides and visitor management. LPT has two main divisions: the Community Tourism Operator (CTO) and Ranger. CTO is the only tour operator in the area; the organisation was formed in 2001. This operator is responsible for managing the tourism product, the marketing activities, and tourist activities. Every tourist or travel agent from outside the village has to book and pay for the tourism package at the CTO. For domestic tourists, if they do not take a tourism package, they pay only the entrance and parking fee. The CTO also handles tourist admission to the national park (*pers. comm. CTO representative*). The Ranger division, previously Tangkahan Simalem Rangers, consists of 90 people who come from the two villages and are divided into three groups. The first group comprises tour interpreters and guides (30 people) assigned to accompany guests on their activities (trekking, elephant riding, tubing). The second group (a further 30 people) are in charge of maintaining security and safety in the area. Thirty more have the duty to keep the environment clean (i.e., clean up rubbish, and replant damaged crops). All get a monthly salary from the LPT (*pers. comm. ranger representatives*).

LPT implements a "one gate management system". The system means every activity that takes place in the area needs permission from LPT. Any stakeholder who wants to do an activity and cooperate with the community or other stakeholders in the area should discuss it with the LPT board. LPT shares 2.5% of the revenue from tourism with the village government, which uses it for operational expenses of village officials. The LPT also often supports the restoration or development of public

facilities (e.g., road, bridge). In addition, the LPT built an English School for children and paid the teacher so the children can go to the school for free to learn English (*pers. comm. LPT representative*).

As mentioned in Section 6.3.1, the LPT formed an agreement with the GLNP manager to manage and organise tourism activities in Tangkahan area. At the end of 2016, the agreement between the villages and GLNP manager expired. Due to the implementation of new regulations (government regulation 36, 2010) about permits to conduct tourism activities in protected areas (*Ijin Pengusahaan Pariwisata Alam/IPPA*), the community needed to apply to get a permit to manage tourism activities in the protected area. Because of a lack of socialisation about the regulation/policy, awareness of improvements and a lack of monitoring by central government (i.e., Ministry of Forestry), implementation of these regulations caused conflict within tourism organisations (LPT) and between LPT and the village government. The village government wanted to cooperate and collaborate with the tourism organisations and be more involved in the management of Tangkahan, but the tourism organisations seemed reluctant to cooperate (*pers. comm. the representatives of village government and LPT members*). A conflict also occurred between the younger and older generations involved in the tourism industry. The younger generation wanted to increase tourism development and make changes to the way tourism was managed, including building collaboration with the village government, but the older generation wanted to manage tourism as they had before. However, the younger generation did not want to show its disagreement openly because of respect for the older generation. This condition made the conflict difficult to resolve (*pers. comm. the representatives of LPT members*). The conflict remained when the fieldwork finished. The stakeholders, including the NGOs and government, do not want to intervene since, in their perception, it is a “domestic problem” (*pers. comm. tourism organisation members and board, representatives of national park manager and NGOs*). The conflict may have had an impact on the perception of empowerment amongst the community at the time of the study (see Chapter Eight).

#### **6.4.4 Tourism industry stakeholders**

Several types of tourism industry stakeholder exist in the area, including: accommodation providers; tour operators; restaurants café, food and stalls owners (including souvenir retailers); transport operators; and guides. All of them have a role in providing services for tourists. The local accommodation sector comprises mainly family businesses. Some business are owned by the local community, and some others by people from Bukit Lawang. These people build their business to increase family income and open new employment opportunities for locals. Most accommodation businesses also have restaurants/cafes and souvenir stalls attached to them. They also have their own transport services. The food sold is mostly traditional food, but some stalls sell western food. During the peak season and at holiday time, the number of food sellers increases. The sellers come

from other villages or other hamlets. They build a semi-permanent place from which to sell the food or use only a mat as the place to put the food. To be able to sell food, they have to pay a levy to the LTP. The most common souvenirs are t-shirts, bracelets, and key chains.

Some of the accommodation owners conduct informal training for new employees, cooperate with tour and travel companies to promote their business, and cooperate with several schools and universities around Medan City to conduct education tourism. However, there is no monitoring of the activities they conducted.

The guides in this area are part of LPT, in the Ranger division (see Section 6.4.3). Approximately 30 guides work in the destination on a rotation scheme. Each guide usually works only a day per month and gets a salary of about IDR 2000000 (NZ\$ 200) per month.

Some stakeholders, particularly the GLNP manager, OIC, and CRU, have similar motivations and a shared sense of purpose: to protect and conserve natural resources by increasing community welfare. They believe that by improving the economy of the community, the pressure on national park resources will decrease. In these terms, most stakeholders use tourism as a tool to empower the community economically and increase community awareness about natural resource conservation. Because this is the goal, increasing tourist numbers, improving tourist experiences, and building income is the focus of the material and activities aimed at local communities. The efforts to prepare them as decision-makers for tourism development in the area conducted in the earlier stage of tourism development are rarely conducted in the current time. The interviews conducted with stakeholders also reveals a lack of coordination between them, with similar activities and material being shared by the various organisations, resulting in duplication.

The lack of emphasis on empowering the community for tourism decision making has not always been the case. In this village, the community was quite intensively involved in tourism development planning and decision-making in the initial stages. However, the activities are not continuous, which is important in empowerment. In addition, most programmes and activities are held in the tourism hamlet (i.e., Kwala Buluh) with the main participants existing tourism actors (i.e., tourism organisation members, tourism industry employee); which means the activities do not touch other community members. There is no evidence to show that stakeholders conducted specific activities for women. The lack of activities or programmes conducted by stakeholders for certain community cohorts could influence empowerment outcomes (see Chapter Eight).

## **6.5 How tourism stakeholders define community empowerment?**

During interviews, informants were asked if they had ever heard about “community empowerment”. Those who said they were familiar with the term were then asked what it meant to them.

Stakeholders involved in tourism development in Tangkahan mostly defined community empowerment as a way to improve community capacity through developing skills and knowledge to achieve specific purposes so that the community could take control, perform tourism more professionally, and improve its welfare. As some of the organisations involved in Namo Sialang are the same as in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang (e.g., GLNP, OIC), only those organisations whose views were not discussed in Chapter Five are outlined below.

The local government representative in Namo Sialang defined community empowerment as a process and an outcome since it is described as community knowledge and an awareness of the need to improve, so that they can take control of the development, particularly tourism. However, the final goal is to become a better tourism destination:

*Community empowerment, the ideal things are (since) we are involved in tourism, so our target is how to successfully achieved (tourism goal) or at least leads to success (of tourism development). What I mean with success is, the community (is) given an understanding (enhance awareness) so they can take control (in tourism development), and they can work in that place (tourism industry). (They also could) work well, of course. Well, the point is like that. So the empowerment [should be] as needed so that they can be more professional. I think that is ideal. So if they [community] are not professional, how can it get to the successful targets that we say (targeted). If they do not...do not have insight [ability], it will be difficult; it can happen so (we should) provide debriefing, isn't it? Guidance, right? Therefore, this is what I think is ideal. (NS-VG1, male)*

The INDECON representative defined community empowerment as an increase in community knowledge:

*To increase community knowledge and skills. So the knowledge that needed so they know how to manage (resources) in a sustainable way. So thinking about the future, not (about) the present, not (for) the short term. (NS\_NGO4, male).*

This response also emphasised sustainability and thinking about the future. The informant also tailored his response to the community in question, mentioning community involvement, and benefit sharing in relation to community empowerment. This informant was also aware of the importance of involving many people, particularly in tourism, and benefit-sharing when he states:

*How (to design so that) tourism only spend maximum fifty percent of your time per week. The solution is to involve more people. More people involved; more groups can be formed, then (they can) work in rotation (take a turn). So one people only spend fewer time. Beside rotation, there is also the distribution of the benefit. (NS\_NGO4).*

The focus remains on economic empowerment outcomes, however:

*So if we do the “empower” thing, we told them “Come on, we do the (tourism) business. We are looking for money but do not be greedy...something like that. (NS\_NGO4).*

The informant also acknowledged the challenge of tourism development in a developing country, where there is an excessive dependence on farming or the sea, making community empowerment through tourism development difficult. As he said:

*Tourism is actually complicated for community. Most of Indonesian society are farmers or fishermen. Therefore, to become an entrepreneur is a new thing for them...so if we talk about empowerment, what we empower is their ability to become entrepreneurs. Therefore, if you want to develop ecotourism, or want sustainable tourism, whatever you call tourism is. It is a business, nothing else. (NS\_NGO4).*

The wildlife NGO CR) defined community empowerment as an improvement of community capacity through knowledge and skill improvement, but focused on environmental knowledge. As the informant stated:

*Community empowerment is an effort to increase community capacity, for example, their knowledge and skill, in order to improve their opportunity to involve in some kind activities such as in tourism development activity. (In order to) to achieve that (empowered community), (the community) should provide an opportunity to participate in the process, (for example) development process. It is one example, about an aspect of public awareness to protect the environment, cleanliness, garbage. (NS\_NGO6, male).*

This focus is not surprising, given their activities are focused on natural resource conservation (see Section 6.4.2).

The LPT representative related community empowerment to the community's need to improve their capacity and ability in many areas, particularly those related to tourism activities (e.g., language). As he said:

*Community empowerment is lack of community ability. The community still has many lacks of ability, (for example) in education. Currently, we (can) facilitate elementary school student so they can learn English. So then, they can support Tangkahan. We do not have enough money. We still need that (money), for (facilitate) junior high school and senior high school level. (We also) conduct training. As I said before, (we still need support) for handcraft training. (NS\_T07, male)*

The response suggests that the interviewee thinks education is an important factor for community empowerment. However, the focus of the improved ability is to support tourism activities or to increase the community's ability to serve tourists. Therefore, as described in Section 6.4.3, the activities conducted by LPT to improve community capacity focus on the ability to fulfil tourist needs.

The LPT representative also mentioned that the community's resistance to change was an inhibiting factor for community empowerment:

*So here it is, one of the challenges, what is the name? (Community empowerment)...is changing one's mindset...it is not as easy as turning your palm, even though we have already been seventeen years (in the development), but it seems like it is they are still resistant. (NS\_TO7)*

The response indicates that empowerment is not an instant process. It needs the effort to change a community's way of thinking. Community culture, arguably, is a factor that influences this challenge as already explained in the literature (see Chapter Two, section 2.4.2).

As in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, tourism industry stakeholders interviewed, mostly could not provide a definition of community empowerment. One interviewee, who work as a guide, said that community empowerment is to “... Provide employment opportunities to the community...” (NS\_Guide8, male). The definition said indicates that the interviewee's understanding of empowerment is more about the economic dimension.

In conclusion, stakeholders' understanding of community empowerment is influenced by their organisation's mission/vision. This understanding affects the activities they design and implement since they are mostly done to support their mission/vision. The definitions provided by stakeholders show that they mostly recognised the role of empowerment in increasing knowledge and capacity in the community, particularly around environment/natural resources and understanding the needs of tourism and tourists. In terms of empowerment outcomes, these were almost entirely framed around economic dimensions; the other dimensions, psychological, social and political, were not clearly identified by the stakeholders in Namo Sialang.

## 6.6 Conclusion

Namo Sialang has similar characteristics to Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, in terms of peripherality and community culture. However, this village has a different approach to tourism development. Tourism planning was conducted with a bottom-up approach, where the local community initiated tourism development. This gives the community a good start in community empowerment. The community also has a master plan for tourism development that could help it, and stakeholders develop tourism in the area (Section 6.3.1).

The stakeholders involved in tourism development in the village are also similar to those involved in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, ranging from central to local government, through non-government organisations, the tourism organisation and the tourism industry. However, their involvement is more intensive than at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang. In this village, the stakeholders supported the community

during the development stage, the initial phase (or planning process) to implementation (Section 6.4). However, the stakeholders' main motivation in empowering the community is so that the community can support the stakeholders' institution in performing their role and responsibilities, which influences the programmes and activities planned and implemented in the village.

A lack of coordination was also identified in this village since the programmes are similar and focused on the same target groups (i.e., tourism organisation members, tourism industry members). The programmes conducted by stakeholders are based on tourists' needs, and not on community needs. The community is expected to provide better services to visitors and not to be given the ability to make decisions following what it wants. In addition, though the literature suggests that community empowerment needs continuous effort (Li & Hunter, 2015), the tourism stakeholders mostly conducted one-off, short-term programmes and without follow-ups, such as evaluation or monitoring.

It seems that tourism stakeholders do not fully understand community empowerment. Their understanding is influenced by their organisation's vision/mission, which affects the empowerment programmes they design.

## **Chapter 7**

# **The Extent of Community Empowerment in Tourism Development at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang Village**

### **7.1 Introduction**

As outlined in Chapter Five, tourism planning in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang occurred in a top-down way, with the stakeholders involved in its development primarily focused on environmental/wildlife issues, and the role of tourism in achieving these goals. The activities they conducted were mostly one-off, focused on tourism actors (e.g., guides and tourism industry employees), with the main purpose of enhancing service provision to tourists. Tourism development in this village has a quite long history, and it experienced a disaster relatively recently, which affected the infrastructure and lives of the residents and has also changed the stakeholders involved in the tourism industry.

This chapter presents the results of a quantitative household survey regarding the extent of community empowerment resulting from tourism development in the village as perceived by the Perkebunan Bukit Lawang residents, using Scheyvens' (1999) empowerment framework. The chapter consists of three main sections. The first section gives an overview of the respondents' characteristics from the survey and compares it with the village population. The second section discusses the respondents' understanding of community empowerment. The third section discusses the respondents' sense of community empowerment resulting from tourism development, in terms of economic, psychological, social, and political empowerment.

### **7.2 The survey respondents**

This section provides an overview of the sample respondents' characteristics. For this study, a proportionate sample (32%) was taken from each hamlet (see Chapter Three) (Table 7.1). Those hamlets divide into three types: tourism hamlet (Dusun VII), plantation hamlet (Dusun I – IV) and ordinary hamlet (Dusun V and VI). Each hamlet has a different sized population. Therefore, the number of the sample is also different.



Table 7.1 The total number of households and the number sample in each hamlet at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and their ethnic origin (source: Head of Hamlet's notes).

No	Hamlet	Household number	Number of respondents from each hamlet
1.	Dusun I	75	24
2.	Dusun II	96	31
3.	Dusun III	31	10
4.	Dusun IV	60	19
5.	Dusun V	132	42
6.	Dusun VI	62	20
7.	Dusun VII	364	117
Total		<b>820</b>	<b>263</b>

### 7.2.1 Respondents' characteristics

The respondents' characteristics compared with the village population are presented in Table 7.2. This table shows substantial differences in the ratio of men to women between the sample and the population. The percentage of women in the survey sample is higher than men, but in the population, it is the opposite. The different is may be because the current population differed from the population when the data were recorded seven years ago.

The largest age group of the sample is 35 - 44 years old (30.4%); somewhat younger than the community population as a whole (45-54 years old). Most of the sample had only school level education, with about a third reporting senior high school (35.4%) or elementary school education (33.8%), with a further 21.7% having a junior high education. Of the remainder, 4.2% were uneducated, and a similar proportion had a post-school education (Bachelors 3.8%; Diploma 1.1%). The sample is a little different from the population, which has a higher percentage at the elementary school level. Again, the timing (2010 versus 2016) may explain the difference, as educational facilities have improved during this period, which may have allowed some community members to reach a higher education level. The younger average age of the survey sample also may reflect higher education levels amongst younger people. The Ministry of Education of Indonesia indicates that the participation level of Indonesian community in formal education has increased since 2010 (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2010; Baswedan, 2014; Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2017).

Respondents in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang came from five ethnicities; the largest ethnic group is Javanese (59.3%), followed by Karonese (17.9%) and Melayu (9.5%). There is a difference between the sample and the whole community since the second biggest ethnic group in the community is Batak Toba. The difference may be because the Karonese are new village members who have moved to the village to work in the tourism industry since the community data were gathered (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Respondents' characteristics compared with the village population (The Village Government of Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, 2010).

Characteristic	Village demography	Sample	
		No	%
<b>Number in population</b>			
Men	<b>1,145 (56%)</b>	126	47.9%
Women	<b>885 (44%)</b>	137	52.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,030</b>		
<b>Age group (years)</b>			
18-24	<b>49% (19 – 50)</b>	17	6.5%
25-34		49	18.6%
35-44		80	30.4%
45-54		72	27.4%
55-64	<b>13% (51- 75)</b>	37	14.1%
65-74		5	1.9%
75-84	<b>3% (&gt;75%)</b>	3	1.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>		<b>100%</b>
<b>Education level</b>			
No-qualification	<b>1.6%</b>	11	4.2%
Elementary school	<b>49.0%</b>	89	33.8%
Junior high school	<b>13.7%</b>	57	21.7%
Senior high school	<b>2.0%</b>	93	35.4%
Diploma/undergraduate	<b>14.9%</b>	13	4.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>		<b>100%</b>
<b>Ethnic composition</b>			
Javanese	<b>73.8%</b>	156	59.3%
Karonese	<b>2.9%</b>	47	17.9%
Melayu	<b>6.8%</b>	25	9.5%
Tobanese	<b>8.6%</b>	6	2.3%
Mandailing	-	13	4.9%
Other	<b>3.0%</b>	16	6.1%
<b>Total</b>		<b>263</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Occupation</b>			
Civil servant/Government employee	<b>0.7%</b>	7	2.7%
Trader/Entrepreneur	<b>22.6%</b>	54	20.5%
Farmworker	<b>52%</b>	-	-
Farmer	<b>6.1%</b>	25	9.5%
Police	<b>0.5%</b>	-	-
Guide	<b>4.8%</b>	-	-
Plantation company employee	<b>10.2%</b>	40	15.2%
Cattleman	<b>2.2%</b>	-	-
Craftsman	<b>0.1%</b>	-	-
Doctor	<b>0.1%</b>	-	-
Nurse	<b>0.7%</b>	-	-
Housewife	-	49	18.6%
Retired	-	20	7.6%
Tourism industry employee	-	22	8.4%
Guide	-	29	11.0%
Odd jobs/other	-	17	6.5%
<b>Total</b>			<b>100.0</b>

Respondents' occupations fell into nine types (Table 7.2) with the largest category being entrepreneur (20.5%), followed by housewife (18.6%), plantation company employee (15.2%), and guide (11.0%). Entrepreneur here means the owner of a tourism business (e.g., accommodation, food stall or the tour operator) and owners of other businesses not related to tourism services (e.g., selling building materials). There are several differences between the categories in the village demography book and the survey. The book states 'farm worker' but in the survey, there was no respondent who answered in that category. However, the meaning is similar to 'labourer' used in the survey. However, the percentages are very different since most farm workers changed their livelihood to plantation worker or tourism industry employee (*pers. comm. local community members*). The demography book does not record "housewife" as an occupation. In essence, it is not clear that the sample represents the community since different occupation categories have been used.

To gain more understanding of respondents' livelihoods, the researcher also asked whether they had a secondary occupation. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, 22.1% of all respondents had a secondary occupation; 37.4% of those working in the tourism industry said that they had another occupation in addition to the tourism employment. Some respondents had a secondary job related to tourism such as trader; driver; guide assistant, or managing/owning accommodation or a restaurant. For them, tourism is a secondary income; their primary income is from farming.

### **7.2.2 Respondents' involvement in the tourism industry**

The researcher asked whether the respondent was involved in tourism. The survey results show that 40.7% of respondents were currently involved, and 6.8% had previously been involved, in the industry. The natural disaster that hit the village is one reason, among others, that caused some of the community who used to own tourism businesses or work in tourism to be no longer involved in the industry. The natural disaster also allowed some non-locals to become involved in tourism.

A range of tourism occupations was mentioned by respondents, including jobs relating to tourism activities (e.g., guide, renting equipment for rafting and tubing, tourist ticketing at HPI office, secretary at organisation office); food and beverage service; safety and security (e.g., security team, cleaning service); transport service (driver); accommodation (e.g., gardening, housekeeper, cook); tour operator (e.g., owner, employee); and handicraft or souvenir stall operator. The characteristics of the respondents involved in tourism are detailed in Table 7.3.

The table shows that those who are involved in the tourism planning process are more likely to be involved in the tourism industry than those who are not involved (65.6% cf. 39.4%). The survey results show that, in this village, gender does not influence community opportunities to be involved in tourism ( $p = 0.112$ ).

Table 7.3 The characteristics of respondents involved in the tourism industry (n=263).

Characteristic	Involvement in tourism industry								P Value
	Yes		No		Was involved		Total		
	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Involvement in the planning process									0.002**
Involved	21	65.6%	7	21.9%	4	12.5%	32	100.0%	
Not involved	91	39.4%	126	54.5%	14	6.1%	231	100.0%	
Gender									0.112
Male	62	49.2%	56	44.4%	8	6.3%	126	100.0%	
Female	50	36.5%	77	56.2%	10	7.3%	137	100.0%	
Age category (years)									0.001**
18-24	9	52.9%	5	29.4%	3	17.6%	17	100.0%	
25-34	25	51.0%	22	44.9%	2	4.1%	49	100.0%	
35-44	44	55.0%	32	40.0%	4	5.0%	80	100.0%	
45-54	27	37.5%	41	56.9%	4	5.6%	72	100.0%	
55-64	7	18.9%	27	73.0%	3	8.1%	37	100.0%	
65-74	0	-	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%	
75-84	0	-	3	100.0%	0	-	3	100.0%	
Education level									0.012*
Do not have a qualification	5	45.5%	6	54.5%	0	0.0%	11	100.0%	
Elementary School	23	25.8%	59	66.3%	7	7.9%	89	100.0%	
Junior High School (SLTP)	29	50.9%	23	40.4%	5	8.8%	57	100.0%	
Senior High School (SLTA)	50	53.8%	37	39.8%	6	6.5%	93	100.0%	
Diploma/Undergraduate	5	38.5%	8	61.5%	0	0.0%	13	100.0%	
Ethnicity									0.000***
Karonese	38	80.9%	9	19.1%	0	0.0%	47	100.0%	
Melayu	12	48.0%	11	44.0%	2	8.0%	25	100.0%	
Javanese	45	28.8%	97	62.2%	14	9.0%	156	100.0%	
Tobanese	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%	
Mandailing	5	38.5%	6	46.2%	2	15.4%	13	100.0%	
Others	10	62.5%	6	37.5%	0	0.0%	16	100.0%	
Main occupation									0.000***
Farmer	8	32.0%	15	60.0%	2	8.0%	25	100.0%	
Odds Job	5	29.4%	11	64.7%	1	5.9%	17	100.0%	
Plantation Employee	7	17.5%	28	70.0%	5	12.5%	40	100.0%	
Housewife	7	14.3%	36	73.5%	6	12.2%	49	100.0%	
Entrepreneur	34	63.0%	18	33.3%	2	3.7%	54	100.0%	
Retirement	0	0.0%	18	90.0%	2	10.0%	20	100.0%	
Civil Servant/ Government Employee	0	0.0%	7	100.0%	0	0.0%	7	100.0%	
Tourism Industry Employee	22	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	22	100.0%	
Guide	29	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	29	100.0%	
Respondent's origin									0.016***
Local	98	40.2%	129	52.9%	17	7.0%	244	100.0%	
Non Local	14	73.7%	4	21.1%	1	5.3%	19	100.0%	
Family involvement									0.001**
Involved	49	59.8%	28	34.1%	5	6.1%	82	100.0%	
Not involve	63	34.8%	105	58.0%	13	7.2%	181	100.0%	

Characteristic	Involvement in tourism industry								P Value
	Yes		No		Was involved		Total		
	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Hamlet0.000***									
Dusun I	7	29.2%	17	70.8%	0	0.0%	24	100.0%	
Dusun II	0	0.0%	27	87.1%	4	12.9%	31	100.0%	
Dusun III	0	0.0%	9	90.0%	1	10.0%	10	100.0%	
Dusun IV	1	5.3%	16	84.2%	2	10.5%	19	100.0%	
Dusun V	9	21.4%	30	71.4%	3	7.1%	42	100.0%	
Dusun VI	10	50.0%	9	45.0%	1	5.0%	20	100.0%	
Dusun VII	85	72.6%	25	21.4%	7	6.0%	117	100.0%	

Table 7.3 shows that even though men are more likely to be involved in tourism than women are (49.2% cf. 36.5%), the percentages are not significantly different. However, they are involved in different ways, with women more likely to be employed in jobs that are an extension of their activities within the household (e.g., cook, housekeeper), while men are more likely to work in active jobs that involve adventure (e.g., guide, tubing guiding). Community perception relating to gender ability seems to influence this situation. As a male respondent who works as a guide said:

*To accompany guests doing the tubing is hard work. (The person) must be brave to fight the (river) flow, helping the tourist if there is an accident. So it seems rather difficult for women to become (tubing) guide. (They) better to work in restaurants or hotels, cook or clean. It is easier, (it) already become a daily habit, right? (PBL\_R144)*

The community's negative perception about women working in the tourism industry as a guide also seems to limit women's opportunities to work in a range of tourism jobs. As one guide said:

*As a guide, we should accompany them everywhere, (for example) tracking in the forest, stay overnight in the forest with them; just imagine if women are doing that...alone with the tourist, particularly men. How if anything happens, (then) the people will talk. (PBL\_R23)*

The results by age indicate that it could influence community opportunities to be involved in tourism ( $p. < 0.01$ ). The younger generation (under 45 years old) are more likely to be involved in the tourism industry. As shown in Table 7.3, half of the respondents under 45 years old are involved in the tourism industry. Only a third of respondents aged 45-54 years old and 18.9% from the 55-64 age group are involved in the tourism industry.

Even though there is no minimum education level to be involved in tourism, the education level does affect community opportunities or intentions to be involved in tourism ( $p. < 0.05$ ), but the pattern here is not clear. Anyone, even without an education, can apply and work in the industry so long as they can do the work (although as stated above, some jobs are limited to males). As one respondent said: "School dropouts can get a job, namely become a guide or a porter." (PBL\_R1)

The survey shows that ethnicity influences the opportunity to be involved in tourism ( $p. < 0.001$ ). Karonese has the highest percentage of those who are involved in the tourism industry (80.9%), while amongst Javanese, the largest ethnic group in the village, only 28.8% were involved in the tourism industry. This may be because most Javanese work as plantation company employees. Several Javanese respondents said that the company did not allow them to open a business in tourism in Bukit Lawang. This is not a written regulation, rather it is a community norm, and there is no sanction for those who disobey it. However, most people do not want to break it. One villager explained: *"No sanction whatsoever...but...how...if I break it...I feel uncomfortable...a little bit guilty...ashamed to others..."* (PBL\_R211). The respondents indicated that the community could influence community intentions to be involved in tourism.

Family involvement in tourism seems to influence the opportunity to be involved in the industry ( $p. < 0.01$ ). More than half (59.8%) of those who had family involved in tourism were involved themselves in the industry. Involvement in the planning process also enhances community opportunities to be involved in the tourism industry ( $p. < 0.05$ ). The percentage of those who involve in the planning process stated that they are involved in the tourism industry is higher than those who do not involve in the tourism planning process (65.6% cf. 39.4%).

Another factor that influences community opportunities to be involved in tourism is hamlet location ( $p. < 0.001$ ). None of the respondents living in Dusun II and III, and only one respondent in Dusun IV, were involved in tourism. Those hamlets are "plantation hamlets" located quite far from the tourism hamlet/tourism centre (see Figure 5.1). Dusun V and VI are "ordinary hamlets" whose members work in various types of the job; Dusun VII is the tourism hamlet where most tourism activities and facilities are located. Another aspect that influences stakeholders' involvement, besides norms, is the distance of the hamlet from the tourism centre. Dusun I and Dusun IV, which are both plantation hamlets, have some villagers who work in tourism since their location is near the tourism centre.

Interestingly, 73.7% of those who are not local people are involved in tourism, which reinforces the observation made in the community that many people from outside the village moved here after the flash flood to take up tourism opportunities as they had more capital than the locals (see Chapter Five). The main occupation category of those who said they were involved in tourism is an entrepreneur (63.0%) followed by a housewife (14.3%). Interestingly, no government employee is involved in the industry.

The survey results indicate several factors that inhibit community opportunity to be involved in the tourism industry such as community perceptions related to women's ability to do certain jobs, norms, and geographical factors. The geographical factor, in this case peripherality, is rarely mentioned in the literature. Other surprising findings are that gender and education levels do not

limit opportunities to be involved in tourism, although the former affects types of jobs. The literature notes that those factors, in some cases, become inhibitors to community involvement in tourism.

### **7.2.3 Respondents' involvement in tourism planning/decision-making**

Aside from involvement in tourism, the survey also asked respondents about their involvement in tourism development, i.e., whether they had attended or participated in formal meetings and discussions regarding planning, organising, monitoring, or evaluating tourism activities in the area. Compared with the percentage of respondents directly involved in tourism, the percentage of respondents involved in tourism development was much smaller; only 12.2% stating that they were involved in tourism development. Respondents described their involvement as participation in a meeting or discussion held by a stakeholder such as government, NGO, or a tourism organisation. From informal conversations, most did not actively participate by giving their opinion; they only attended and listened at the meeting. Table 7.4 presents the characteristics of respondents who reported being involved in tourism planning or the decision-making process.

The results indicate that age is not a significant factor influencing community opportunities to be involved in tourism planning ( $p > 0.05$ ), but those of middle age (35-54) and those over 65 years were more likely to be involved. Chi-square analysis shows that there is a significant relationship between involvement in the tourism industry and being involved in tourism planning ( $p < 0.01$ ). Four respondents (22.2%) involved in tourism in the past said that they were still involved in tourism planning. These people used to work as guides. There was no significant difference between the likelihood of locals and non-locals being involved in tourism planning in the village ( $p > 0.05$ ).

Education level is not significantly associated with community involvement in tourism planning ( $p > 0.05$ ). However those with few or no qualifications were less likely to be involved in tourism planning; none of those who do not have qualification were involved in tourism planning.

While involvement in the tourism industry is not significantly affected by gender, the same cannot be said for involvement in tourism planning ( $p < 0.001$ ). The survey shows that men are significantly more likely to be involved in tourism planning than women (21.4% cf. 3.6%). Based on the open-ended questions, the reason given for women's non-involvement in planning (e.g., meetings, discussions) seems to be the community culture. In patriarchy, men have responsibility for making decisions. Therefore, during the decision-making, women are rarely invited; this is explained by a housewife:

*We are rarely invited to the meeting. After all, it (decision-making) is the men's job (responsibility). Our job is at the house (to) take care of the kids.*  
**(PBL\_Housewife17)**

Table 7.4 Characteristics of the respondent involve in tourism planning (n=263).

Characteristic	Involvement in the tourism planning process						P-Value
	Yes		No		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Involvement in the tourism industry							0.002**
Yes	21	18.8%	91	81.3%	112	100.0%	
No	7	5.3%	126	94.7%	133	100.0%	
Was involved	4	22.2%	14	77.8%	18	100.0%	
Gender							0.000***
Man	27	21.4%	99	78.6%	126	100.0%	
Woman	5	3.6%	132	96.4%	137	100.0%	
Age category (years)							0.082
18-24	1	5.9%	16	94.1%	17	100.0%	
25-34	1	2.0%	48	98.0%	49	100.0%	
35-44	11	13.8%	69	86.3%	80	100.0%	
45-54	14	19.4%	58	80.6%	72	100.0%	
55-64	3	8.1%	34	91.9%	37	100.0%	
65-74	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%	
75-84	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%	
Education level							0.329
Do not have education	0	0.0%	11	100.0%	11	100.0%	
Elementary School	7	7.9%	82	92.1%	89	100.0%	
Junior High School (SLTP)	9	15.8%	48	84.2%	57	100.0%	
Senior High School (SLTA)	14	15.1%	79	84.9%	93	100.0%	
Diploma/Undergraduate	2	15.4%	11	84.6%	13	100.0%	
Ethnicity							0.139
Karonese	9	19.1%	38	80.9%	47	100.0%	
Melayu	1	4.0%	24	96.0%	25	100.0%	
Javanese	17	10.9%	139	89.1%	156	100.0%	
Tobanese	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	6	100.0%	
Mandailing	0	0.0%	13	100.0%	13	100.0%	
Others	4	25.0%	12	75.0%	16	100.0%	
Main occupation							0.093
Farmer	3	12.0%	22	88.0%	25	100.0%	
Odds Job	2	11.8%	15	88.2%	17	100.0%	
Plantation Employee	7	17.5%	33	82.5%	40	100.0%	
Housewife	2	4.1%	47	95.9%	49	100.0%	
Entrepreneur	3	5.6%	51	94.4%	54	100.0%	
Retirement	3	15.0%	17	85.0%	20	100.0%	
Civil Servant/Government Employee	0	0.0%	7	100.0%	7	100.0%	
Tourism Industry Employee	5	22.7%	17	77.3%	22	100.0%	
Guide	7	24.1%	22	75.9%	29	100.0%	
Origin							0.820
Local	30	12.3%	214	87.7%	244	100.0%	
Non Local	2	10.5%	17	89.5%	19	100.0%	
Family involvement							0.101
Involved	14	17.1%	68	82.9%	82	100.0%	
Not involved	18	9.9%	163	90.1%	181	100.0%	
Hamlet							0.075
Dusun I	1	4.2%	23	95.8%	24	100.0%	
Dusun II	1	3.2%	30	96.8%	31	100.0%	



Characteristic	Involvement in the tourism planning process						P-Value
	Yes		No		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Dusun III	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	10	100.0%	
Dusun IV	1	5.3%	18	94.7%	19	100.0%	
Dusun V	8	19.0%	34	81.0%	42	100.0%	
Dusun VI	1	5.0%	19	95.0%	20	100.0%	
Dusun VII	20	17.1%	97	82.9%	117	100.0%	

While the differences are not statistically significant, respondents living in Dusun VII and Dusun V – the hamlets most likely involved in tourism – are more likely to be involved in tourism planning. The main occupations of those involved in tourism planning were from all occupation types except government employee (see Chapter Five). The highest percentages were those who worked as tourism industry employees (22.7%) or guides (24.1%). There are 17.5% of plantation company employees who said that they are involved in the tourism planning process. Those respondents are, or used to be, members of the tourism organisation but are no longer active.

As has been noted by many scholars, culture often limits women's opportunities or intentions to be involved in planning; this study indicates the same issues. Women were less involved in tourism planning, despite their involvement in the industry, because of community perceptions relating to gender which sees men as the decision-makers.

#### 7.2.4 Respondents' understanding of community empowerment

To explore community knowledge of community empowerment, the researcher asked whether the respondent ever heard of the term community empowerment and if so, their understanding of this term. In this village, 31.2% (n=263) of respondents had heard the term. The respondents' characteristics that seemed to influence community knowledge and understanding of community empowerment are education level (p. < 0.001), ethnicity (p. <0.05), gender (p. <0.01), involvement in tourism (p. <0.05), and involvement in tourism planning (p. <0.001). Table 7.5 presents the characteristics of respondents who have heard about community empowerment.

Table 7.5 shows that the percentage of respondents who said they had heard of the term increased with increased education level. The survey also shows that respondents involved in the tourism industry were more likely to have heard of the term than those who were not involved or were once involved in tourism (39.3% cf. 24.1% cf. 33.3%). The results show that 23 of 32 people (71.9%) involved in tourism planning said that they had heard of the community empowerment term. For those not involved in tourism planning, only 25.5% had heard of the term. This may be because, by being involved, the respondents had more opportunities to interact with stakeholders to give them training and discussion or knowledge sharing. Men are more likely to have heard the term than

Table 7.5 The characteristic of respondents who have heard about 'community empowerment' term.

Characteristic	Heard Community Empowerment						P value
	Yes		No		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Involvement in the planning process						0.000***	
Involved	23	71.9%	9	28.1%	32	100.0%	
Not involved	59	25.5%	172	74.5%	231	100.0%	
Involvement in the tourism industry						0.037*	
Involved in the tourism industry	44	39.3%	68	60.7%	112	100.0%	
Do not involve in the tourism industry	32	24.1%	101	75.9%	133	100.0%	
Involved in the past time	6	33.3%	12	66.7%	18	100.0%	
Gender						0.000***	
Male	50	39.7%	76	60.3%	126	100.0%	
Female	32	23.4%	105	76.6%	137	100.0%	
Age						0.136	
18-24	4	23.5%	13	76.5%	17	100.0%	
25-34	15	30.6%	34	69.4%	49	100.0%	
35-44	26	32.5%	54	67.5%	80	100.0%	
45-54	30	41.7%	42	58.3%	72	100.0%	
55-64	6	16.2%	31	83.8%	37	100.0%	
65-74	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%	
75-84	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%	
Education Level						0.000***	
Do not have education	2	18.2%	9	81.8%	11	100.0%	
Elementary School	10	11.2%	79	88.8%	89	100.0%	
Junior High School (SLTP)	14	24.6%	43	75.4%	57	100.0%	
Senior High School (SLTA)	47	50.5%	46	49.5%	93	100.0%	
Diploma/Undergraduate	9	69.2%	4	30.8%	13	100.0%	
Ethnicity						0.033*	
Batak Karo	17	36.2%	30	63.8%	47	100.0%	
Melayu	10	40.0%	15	60.0%	25	100.0%	
Javanese	37	23.7%	119	76.3%	156	100.0%	
Batak Toba	3	50.0%	3	50.0%	6	100.0%	
Mandailing	6	46.2%	7	53.8%	13	100.0%	
Others	9	56.3%	7	43.8%	16	100.0%	
Family Involvement						0.901	
Has Family involved	26	31.7%	56	68.3%	82	100.0%	
Do not has family involved	56	30.9%	125	69.1%	181	100.0%	
Hamlet						0.501	
Dusun I	5	20.8%	19	79.2%	24	100.0%	
Dusun II	9	29.0%	22	71.0%	31	100.0%	
Dusun III	3	30.0%	7	70.0%	10	100.0%	
Dusun IV	3	15.8%	16	84.2%	19	100.0%	
Dusun V	15	35.7%	27	64.3%	42	100.0%	
Dusun VI	5	25.0%	15	75.0%	20	100.0%	
Dusun VII	42	35.9%	75	64.1%	117	100.0%	
Main Occupation						0.203	
Farmer	9	36.0%	16	64.0%	25	100.0%	
Odds Job	5	29.4%	12	70.6%	17	100.0%	

Characteristic	Heard Community Empowerment						P value
	Yes		No		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Plantation Employee	13	32.5%	27	67.5%	40	100.0%	
Housewife	13	26.5%	36	73.5%	49	100.0%	
Entrepreneur	13	24.1%	41	75.9%	54	100.0%	
Retirement	3	15.0%	17	85.0%	20	100.0%	
Civil Servant/Government Employee	4	57.1%	3	42.9%	7	100.0%	
Tourism Industry Employee	11	50.0%	11	50.0%	22	100.0%	
Guide	11	37.9%	18	62.1%	29	100.0%	

women (39.7% cf. 23.4%). This may be a reflection of the fact that women are less involved in tourism planning. There is no significant difference between the level of education of men and women.

Those who were familiar with the term “community empowerment” were asked to define the concept. Most respondents described the term as a way to provide a community with knowledge, skills, and the ability to do or create something to help them improve their livelihood and sustain an activity, in this case, tourism (process-focused). The respondents also explained that the purpose of community empowerment activities is to improve their welfare, increase their income, manage their resources, and solve problems such as environmental problems (outcomes focused). Several responses indicative of this are:

*(Community empowerment is) activities (such as) training to improve villagers’ knowledge (and) to increase their income. (PBL\_R89).*

*To build awareness of this nature's assets in the community, so their awareness to keep the environment for the tourism, to keep it going, can appear. For example, to give a lesson about what plants are, what function, why we should not damage it, the impact of waste disposal into the river, what the consequences, and also teach to be able to take advantage of assets that are already owned. (PBL\_R62)*

One male respondent who had finished senior high school described community empowerment as the ability to do something (outcome-focused). He said:

*(Community empowerment) is to have the ability or capacity to do something, to build something on your own. (PBL\_R6)*

Besides training, other activities related to community empowerment mentioned by respondents included providing a donation to the disadvantaged (e.g., those of a lower economic level/poor people) group. Examples given by respondents (i.e., a guide and tourism industry owner) are:

*(It is) some kinds of seminars or training. The activities to help improve community awareness of the assets that have been owned, (Such as) natural resources that must be maintained. (PBL\_R23)*

*Providing help to the community, empowering (community) by donating to the underprivileged community, teach them how to make brown sugar and tofu. (PBL\_R122)*

An interesting finding is that four people familiar with the term specifically mentioned that empowerment-related particularly to women and got women involved in community activities. They provided an example, organising activities for women such as a bazaar and baking and family welfare construction (PKK) activities. By organising or conducting those events, one respondent thought that women could be encouraged to participate and they can have more activities to do, besides taking care of their household. As a housewife said:

*It is an activity for women, such as PKK (coaching for family welfare). They (stakeholders) conduct (events such as) bazaars, training to make cookies. (So they) women have other activities, do not just stay at home. (PBL\_R55)*

This response seems to be influenced by community culture regarding gender roles in the community, whereby women's responsibility is mainly to manage their household. That role caused the understanding that women only need an improvement that focused on their role and ability in the household context. This understanding furthermore could lead to fewer opportunities for women to be involved in the tourism industry or planning and affect the outcomes they perceived from tourism development (Section 7.3).

The results show that two-thirds of the community did not have any understanding of the term 'community empowerment'. While those that did have some idea of the term focused on the economic dimension and environmental issues. The understanding may be related to the fact that material given by stakeholders is mostly concerned with those two issues (Chapter Five). Some respondents also recognised the importance of women's empowerment. However, the focus was still on their role in the household and not on increasing their involvement in the wider community.

As outlined in Chapter Two, access to information and knowledge are important factors that could enhance community empowerment. The results indicate that respondents who knew about community empowerment are those with access to knowledge through education or knowledge transfer from outside stakeholders when they were involved in the tourism business, or planning or decision-making. However, culture is a factor that could limit community access to information and knowledge. Since culture limits certain community groups (e.g., women) from involvement in tourism planning, that limits opportunities to access new knowledge through interaction with other stakeholders.

### 7.3 Respondents' perceptions: The economic, psychological, social, and political dimensions

Empowerment, as an outcome (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Timothy, 2007), is the condition where community members have the authority and capacity to act, make a choice of actions, and control decisions and resources (Timothy, 2007). An outcome of community empowerment from tourism development is where the host community feels that tourism can bring lasting economic benefit for them (economic empowerment); felt their pride and self-esteem increase because they feel special and have important skills and resources to share with visitors (psychological empowerment); feel tourism can improve their social networks and cohesion (social empowerment) (Scheyvens, 1999); and that they have a political voice and their needs are fairly represented in tourism development (political empowerment) (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Scheyvens, 1999). This section discusses the findings from the survey of respondents' perceptions of empowerment resulting from tourism development.

#### 7.3.1 Respondents' perceptions regarding economic empowerment

Economic empowerment is a condition where the community gets a lasting economic benefit from tourism; that profits from tourism are shared between many households in the community; and community access to the economic opportunities and benefits arising from tourism development are equitably distributed in the community (Scheyvens, 1999). The respondents' perceptions of the economic empowerment indicators resulting from tourism development are presented in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 Respondents' perceptions of economic empowerment indicators in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang's tourism development (n=263).

Variables	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. Tourism in my village helps me pay my bills.	44.5%	4.2%	51.3%
2. Income from tourism gives me choices in how I spend my money.	30.8%	8.7%	60.5%
3. Tourism in my village brings lasting economic benefits to the local community.	58.2%	31.2%	10.6%
4. Tourism in my village supports public facility development.	20.2%	28.5%	51.3%
5. Most profits from tourism in my village go to local elite, outside operators or government agencies.	91.3%	7.2%	1.5%
6. Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefit from tourism in my village.	90.1%	9.1%	0.8%

At the individual level, the results indicate that respondents generally do not feel that tourism has empowered them economically. Less than half of respondents reported that tourism in their village helped them pay their bills, while nearly a third (30.8%) felt it gave them choices in how to spend their money. The percentage is not surprising, given the percentage of the population who are employed in tourism. In addition, more than 90% of respondents agreed that the economic benefit goes to others

instead of them. At the community level, more than half of respondents agree that tourism brings lasting economic benefits for the local community. However, the benefit is not in the form of public facilities improvement since only 20.2% of respondents agree that tourism supports public facility development.

### **Economic benefits from tourism development**

Respondents' involvement and family involvement in tourism influenced their perceptions related to economic benefits from tourism development. Those currently involved in tourism were more likely to agree that tourism helped them pay their bills (83% cf. 13.5%;  $p < 0.001$ ) and that they had a choice on how to spend their money (64.3% cf. 6%;  $p < 0.001$ ) (see Appendix I.1.1). The fact that the percentage of those who had a choice in spending their money is smaller than for those who feel that tourism helps them pay their bills suggests that income from tourism is enough only to fulfil daily needs. The result is supported in comments from respondents that tourism does not provide enough money to spend on non-essential items.

Family involvement also influenced respondents' perceptions of related tourism benefits. Those with family involved in tourism were more likely to agree that tourism helped them pay their bills (59.8% cf. 37.6%;  $p < 0.001$ ) and that they had a choice in how to spend their money (45.1% cf. 24.3%;  $p < 0.01$ ). Some respondents explained that the family involved are distant relatives, so no money comes to them. One respondent explained:

*My uncle has an accommodation there (Bukit Lawang), but it has nothing to do with us here. The money is for them, not for us. (PBL\_R26).*

A person's main occupation also influenced respondents' perceptions of whether tourism helps pay their bills ( $p < 0.001$ ) and gives them choices about how to spend their money ( $p < 0.01$ ).

Respondents' who had a main occupation related to tourism seemed to have a more positive perception of individual benefits from tourism development. For example, of those who work as tourism industry employees, 95.5% agreed that tourism helped them pay their bills, and 86.4% agreed that they had a choice on how to spend their money. For guides, 79.3% agreed that tourism helps them pay their bills, and 58.6% agreed that they had a choice on how to spend their money. For entrepreneurs, 70.4% agreed that tourism helped them pay their bills, and 48.1% agreed that they had a choice on how to spend their money. Based on informal conversations, guides, particularly for foreign tourists, and tourism business owners get more money than other tourism industry employees do. People can be a guide for international tourists if they speak English or other languages (e.g., German, Spanish), which means skills (i.e., language) could enhance opportunities to get more benefits from tourism.

The results show that gender does not influence respondents' perceptions about whether tourism helps them pay their bills ( $p. > 0.05$ ) nor whether income from tourism gives them choices in spending their money ( $p. > 0.05$ ). However, the results indicate that men are more likely to feel tourism profits the individual; more men than women agreed that tourism in their village helped them pay their bills (50.8% cf. 38.7%), and that tourism gave them choices about how to spend their money (37.3% cf. 24.8%). Some respondents whose husbands worked in tourism reported getting no money from them. One housewife stated:

*My husband usually spends the money he got for drinking and gambling...for our daily need; we depend on another income...from our farm...or from my salaries if I got a job as farm labor. (PBL\_R2)*

The results suggest that the economic benefit may empower the next generation, particularly in the psychological dimension. Several respondents explained that tourism increased their income, so they had more money to send their children to school to pursue a higher education level. As one respondent who worked as a guide said: *"(The benefit) I got...can increase income, can send my children to college, and also can learn English..." (PBL\_R89)*

The results also indicate that education level did not influence respondents' perceptions about tourism helping them pay their bills or giving them choices about spending their money. This may be because, in this area, to work in tourism one does not have to have a certain education level. Therefore, those with no qualifications can get a job in tourism. However, 54.5% of those with no qualifications agreed that tourism helped them pay their bills. While for those with the highest education level (diploma/undergraduate) had the lowest percentage of those who agreed that tourism paid their bills (30.8%). This might be because the salary in tourism businesses is low compared with their education level. The salary of tourism employees is not based on education level but on the ability of the tourism business owner to pay (*pers. comm. tourism business owner*). Conversely, the percentage who agreed that tourism gave them choices about how to spend their money increased with the respondent's increased education level. Only 18.2% of those with no qualification agreed with the statement, whereas those with a higher level recorded a higher percentage (elementary school 19.1%; junior high school 35.1%, senior high school 39.8%; diploma/undergraduate 38.5%).

Most respondents perceived that tourism is not benefitting all community members equally. Table 7.6 shows that most respondents felt that tourism profit went to other groups, e.g., 91.3% of respondents agreed that most tourism profit goes to local elite, outside operators or government agencies; 90.1% agree that only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefit from tourism in their village. Based on personal conversations, respondents who are not involved in tourism thought that tourism profits mostly went to those involved, or had family involved, in

tourism. In contrast, respondents involved in tourism felt that most of the benefits went to government agencies, particularly the national park manager (Ministry of Forestry), through the entrance fee from visitors, especially international visitors. Respondents felt they did not get a meaningful return. For example, one of the accommodation business owners stated:

*The government increases the entrance fee; particularly for international tourist. The retribution should be allocated to build infrastructure or public facilities improvement, to support tourism activities. However, in reality, you can see by yourself. There is no improvement. We do not know where the money goes, maybe to the national park officer. (PBL\_R67)*

They do not realise that the financial mechanism at the national level is quite complicated (see Chapter Four).

Some respondents involved in tourism also reported that most of the financial benefits were gained by tourism businesses that had connections with foreigners. Based on informal conversations, several respondents said that most accommodation in Bukit Lawang is owned by foreigners or by local people with a foreign partner or spouse. Those owners usually promote their business more professionally and can reach a wider audience, e.g., a website in English and other languages (see Chapter Five). Meanwhile, other tourism businesses, particularly those owned by locals, promote their business more simply (e.g., Facebook, brochure) or not at all. Therefore, the results they get are different. Based on observations and conversations with several respondents, businesses owned by foreigners or in a relationship with foreigners are almost always full of foreign tourists who pay a higher price; local businesses are usually struggling to get tourists. To get more tourists, some local businesses try to cooperate, e.g., the owner of local accommodation works with a guide or with the owner of a small restaurant to promote their business.

### **The benefit of tourism development for the wider community**

Despite a lack of personal benefit, a small majority of respondents agreed that tourism could bring lasting economic benefit to the community. However, involvement in tourism seems to influence community perceptions about tourism benefits for the community ( $p < 0.01$ ). The survey results show that those respondents that agree that tourism brings benefit to the local community are those currently involved in tourism (77.7% agreed). By comparison, only half (50%) of those who were previously involved in tourism and 42.9% of those not involved in tourism agreed with this statement. However, quite a high percentage of those who were involved in the past, or were not involved chose neutral (33.3% and 40.6%, respectively), suggesting they did not have enough information to form an opinion. Respondents with no qualification were more likely to choose neutral (63.6%). This means that many respondents do not see any obvious benefits received by the local community.



Educational qualifications had an impact on perceptions regarding whether tourism brought lasting economic benefit to the community ( $p. < 0.01$ ). Those with the highest education level (undergraduate/diploma) had the highest percentage agreeing with the statement (92.3%), whereas only 36.4% of those with no qualification agreed with the statement. This might be because the higher an education level one pursued, the greater the opportunity to access and obtain information, including information about the potential benefits of tourism (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005) and the intangible benefits from tourism in addition to the tangible benefit of extra income (Scheyvens, 1999).

Even though respondents agreed that tourism could benefit the local community, it is not related to public facility improvement, since only 20.2% agreed that tourism supports public facility development in their village. A factor that influenced respondents' perceptions on this matter is their hamlet's location ( $p. < 0.05$ ). Respondents who were more likely to agree that tourism supported public facility development were those who lived in the tourism hamlet (25.6%), a hamlet adjacent to the tourism hamlet (Dusun I, 25%), and the hamlet on the main access to the tourism area (Dusun V, 23.8%). Those who agreed explained that since tourism flourished, there had been an improvement in public infrastructure (e.g., the road and communication networks) even though they did not know whether the capital to build the road came from tourism income. This means, even though there is no benefit-sharing from tourism development (see Chapter Five), tourism development seems to increase the government's and other stakeholders' attention to the village condition, particularly the public facilities. However, the development is more likely to fulfil tourist needs and not community ones, since the improvements occurred primarily to aid tourist access.

In interviews with tourism organisation representatives, they argued that village facility development is the responsibility of the plantation companies or the central government (e.g., Ministry of Forestry or other ministry-related with public facilities development). These thoughts are aligned with the village government's opinion. As the village government representative said:

*This is a plantation village where the development of public facilities is the responsibility of plantation companies and the central government, not the tourism organisation. If they (the tourism organisation) want to share the benefit, we will be happy to receive it, but if not, it is ok. (PBL-R219)*

The tourism organisation felt that it already helped villagers by providing new employment opportunities and organising some social activities such as Independence Day celebrations and providing material support during religious celebrations, particularly Muslim celebration days. Based on informal conversations with villagers, most did not know about those benefits. A few who did know said that it did not matter to them if they did not share the benefits from tourism, even though they hoped they could get a share.

To conclude, the results indicate that involvement in the tourism industry can enhance community empowerment at the individual and community level. Involvement in tourism planning did not enhance respondents' perceptions of economic empowerment. At the individual level, other factors that influenced the perception of economic empowerment are family involvement, and education, which supports the literature (Chapter Two). Another factor identified that could influence economic empowerment, but which is rarely discussed in the literature, relates to peripherality, which is enabling for economic empowerment in this context. As explained in Chapter Two, locations closer to the tourist market often receive more benefits than those in peripheral areas. The results of this study support that suggestion. In terms of economic empowerment at the community level, other factors that could influence community perception are education. Education can enhance community empowerment since it could increase community awareness in finding intangible benefits from tourism in addition to tangible ones such as income. The factor that limits economic empowerment is a lack of skill and knowledge. For example, the lack of ability in a foreign language limits villagers from becoming guides for international tourists; foreign tourist guides get a higher income.

### 7.3.2 Respondents' perceptions regarding psychological empowerment

Psychological empowerment in tourism is where community pride and self-esteem are improved because there is a recognition from outsiders of the uniqueness of the community's natural resources, culture, and traditional knowledge. In addition, confidence in finding local employment may also increase at an individual or community level, potentially leading people to seek higher education (Boley et al., 2015, p. 5; Scheyvens, 1999). Respondents' perceptions of psychological empowerment resulting from tourism development in their village are presented in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7 Respondents' perceptions of psychological empowerment indicators in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang's tourism development (n=263).

Variable	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. Tourism in my village makes me feel special because people travel to see my village's natural resources or traditional culture.	58.9%	27.4%	13.7%
2. Tourism in my village makes me feel proud of my culture.	22.8%	38.8%	38.4%
3. Tourism in my village makes me want to share my traditional knowledge with the visitors.	36.1%	30.4%	33.5%
4. Tourism in my village increases my confidence that I will find local employment.	23.2%	20.5%	56.3%
5. Tourism in my village increases my status in the community.	17.1%	28.1%	54.8%
6. Tourism in my village makes me want to seek out further education and training opportunities.	9.5%	19.0%	71.5%
7. Tourism in my village makes me feel that my culture and way of life is inferior.	0.4%	28.5%	71.1%
8. Tourism in my village restricts my access to natural resources.	1.2%	14.4%	84.4%
9. Tourism in my village makes me feel disappointed with tourism development.	38.0%	41.1%	20.9%

Table 7.7 shows that the majority of respondents did not perceive that tourism could enhance psychological empowerment in any significant way, however, there is evidence that tourism makes them feel special because people travel to see their natural resources or traditional culture.

### **Tourism development: Community pride in its natural resources, culture, and traditional knowledge**

Over half of all respondents (58.9%) agreed that visitation by people to view the village's natural resources or traditional culture made them feel special. It seems that visitors' interest in the natural resources has the most impact since only 22.2% of respondents felt tourism made them feel proud of their culture. The smaller percentage for those who felt pride toward their culture may be because the main attractions of Bukit Lawang are natural resources, orangutan and the national park; the community does not have much opportunity to display their culture or receive appreciation for it. This observation is supported by the fact that just over a third of respondents (36.1%) expressed a desire to share their traditional knowledge with the visitors. In general, however, tourism development did not make the respondents feel that their culture and way of life was inferior, so it was not disempowering.

Involvement in tourism seems to influence community feelings towards the natural resources and traditional culture ( $p < 0.01$ ), pride in the culture ( $p < 0.01$ ), and a desire to share traditional knowledge with the visitors ( $p < 0.001$ ). Respondents involved in tourism, particularly guides and tourism industry employees, were significantly more likely to feel special because of the natural resources or traditional culture (86.6% cf. 36.8% agreed) and express pride toward their culture (60.7% cf. 21.1% agreed). Respondents who agreed with the statement explained how and why they felt special, as a guide explained:

*Many foreign people come here (Bukit Lawang), particularly from Europe. They come to see the orangutan. The tourist said orangutan is unique wildlife and rarely to be found. No many places have orangutan, only at Sumatera and Kalimantan. (PBL\_R33)*

Those currently involved in tourism were more likely to want to share their traditional knowledge (65.2% cf. 14.3% agreed). This intention comes from their opportunities to interact and exchange ideas with visitors, so they feel encouraged to share knowledge with the visitors. As an international tourist guide said: *"We often talk and discuss with the visitor...we talk about each other's culture...sometimes they ask something (about daily life) to us"* (PBL\_R110)

Respondents who were currently involved in tourism had more opportunities to share their culture with tourists, and that interaction has made them aware of the special qualities of their culture. Respondents who were not involved in tourism were more likely to feel neutral (41.4%) on this issue

because they rarely interacted with outsiders; international or local tourists. As one women respondent said:

*I saw many people come here to see orangutan. I never talk to them (the tourist). I cannot speak English, but I do not know why they want to see it. It is not beautiful or useful and I think orangutan is a little bit dangerous.*  
**(PBL\_R178)**

Respondents' involvement in tourism planning also seemed to influence their special feelings about the natural resources or traditional culture ( $p. < 0.05$ ), making them feel proud of their culture ( $p. < 0.05$ ), and that tourism made them want to share traditional knowledge with the visitors ( $p. < 0.01$ ). Those involved in tourism planning were more likely to feel special (87.5% cf. 55% agreed), feel proud of their culture (65.6% cf. 34.6% agreed), and want to share their traditional knowledge (68.8% cf. 31.6% agreed) than those who were not involved. The opportunity to meet other stakeholders and share experiences was considered a reason for these responses. It is not surprising that those more likely agree that tourism makes them want to share traditional knowledge are those working guides (75.9% agreed), tourism industry employees (72.7% agreed), and civil servant/government employees (71.4% agreed) who have more opportunity to meet and interact with outsiders and other stakeholders. Of those with fewer opportunities to interact and meet outsiders, such as housewives, only 14.3% agreed with the statement.

Educational level is another factor that influenced respondents' perceptions about whether tourism made them feel special about their natural resources or traditional culture ( $p. < 0.01$ ) and made them feel proud of their culture ( $p. < 0.01$ ). Respondents with a higher education level, such as senior high school (48.4% agreed) or a diploma/undergraduate degree (61.5% agreed) were also more likely to feel pride about their culture than those with a lower education level (no qualification, 27.3%; elementary school, 29.2%; junior high school, 33.3%). The reason for pride in the higher educated respondents seems to be different. It seems that they have a greater appreciation of the local value derived from the information they got at school. One respondent, who finished his degree, said:

*We used to learn at the school, that each culture is unique...we (Indonesia) have many cultures, from Sabang (Indonesia's westernmost island) to Merauke (Indonesia's easternmost island), so surely ours is also special.*  
**(PBL\_R5)**

Education level seems to influence community intentions to share traditional knowledge, even though the statistical analysis does not show a significant difference. Respondents with a higher level of education, particularly a diploma/undergraduate (70% agreed) and senior high school (46.2% agreed), were more likely to want to share traditional knowledge than those with a lower education level (no qualification 36.4%; elementary school 22.5%; junior high school 31.6%). This is because they think they have cultural or traditional knowledge that might attract visitors' attention and make

them want to return to the area. Again, it seems this attitude may be a direct result of their formal educational experiences. As one respondent, who finished an undergraduate qualification, explained:

*We actually have many (kinds) of cultural potentials that can be used as a tourist attraction. For example, dance, traditional food, and others. These things we can explain to the visitors. (PBL\_R5)*

Respondents with no qualifications were mostly neutral on this question (45.5%). Some said it was because they did not know if they had the knowledge to share with visitors, others explained that they felt they did not have the ability (e.g., language) or knowledge to share with visitors. The reason for disagreeing was that they did not see anything important that could be shared with visitors. One guide for domestic visitors, who has no qualifications, said: *"I do not know what to talk (share)...everything is ordinary...nothing good to tell them"* (PBL\_R144)

Gender seems to influence only respondents' answers related to the statement that tourism makes them feel proud of their culture ( $p. < 0.05$ ). More men than women agreed that tourism made them feel proud of their culture (42.9% cf. 34.3%). Women were more likely to choose a neutral response (46%).

Respondent involvement in tourism affected perceptions regarding whether tourism made them feel that their culture and way life is inferior ( $p. < 0.001$ ). A few respondents involved in tourism felt inferior about their culture and way of life; because they saw that foreign tourists had a better life or more money than them. These respondents were a very small minority; most respondents disagreed with the statement since, in their perception, all people have their own culture and customs.

Community feeling towards its resources, both natural and cultural, and an interest to share knowledge with others are influenced by involvement in tourism and education. Involvement in tourism provides more opportunities for villagers to interact outsiders such as tourist. Thus, they realise they have unique, exciting resources for others. Education also increases community knowledge and helps people realise that they have the knowledge to share with others.

### **Confidence in finding local employment, interest in pursuing further education, and community status**

As outlined in Chapter Two, the opportunity to get jobs in tourism is seen as an important source of empowerment, which is economic and psychological in nature. However, tourism development in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang seems to have limited influence on local community confidence in finding a job in the area since only 23.2% of respondents agreed with this statement (Table 7.7). Those more likely to agree with the statement are those involved in tourism rather than those who are not involved (49.1% cf. 3.0%;  $p. < 0.001$ ), such as guides (51.7% agreed) and tourism industry employees (72.7% agreed). They agreed since their current employment had provided them with additional

skills, such as English language skills, to help them find another job. Another reason is that they now had capital from business to buy land or establish their own tourism business. Their current employment had given them easy access to new industry jobs, networks, and contacts (*pers. comm. tourism industry employees*). It is interesting to note that 83.3% of those who were formerly involved in tourism disagreed with the statement, meaning that experience alone may not be seen as a good indicator of future opportunities in the industry.

The results indicate that residential hamlet is one factor that influences respondents' perceptions relating to whether tourism increased their confidence to find local employment ( $p. < 0.01$ ).

Respondents more likely agree with the statement are those who lived in the tourism hamlet (Dusun VII, 40.2%), or the hamlets adjacent to the tourism hamlet (Dusun VI, 25% and Dusun I, 12.5%). No respondent who lived in hamlets far from the tourism hamlet (Dusun II and III) agreed with the statement. This indicates that peripherality could influence community empowerment in the psychological dimension, with distance reducing perceived psychological empowerment.

The results indicate that tourism did not increase community members' intentions to seek out further education and training opportunities; only 9.5% of respondents agreed with the statement. This may be related to the previous variable suggesting a lack of confidence in finding local employment as a result of tourism development. Those who worked in a job related to tourism ( $p. < 0.01$ ) were more likely to want to pursue higher education or training opportunities ( $p. < 0.001$ ). Among those involved in tourism, 20.5% were keen to pursue further education and training, particularly those employed in the tourism industry (72.7%) and the guides (51.7%). This suggests that tourism might encourage some people to pursue higher education and training opportunities because tourism is their primary income. Some guides said that they wanted to participate in training to improve their performance. One guide said:

*I will be happy to participate in the training. Therefore, my knowledge and skill will be increased (and) I can serve the tourist more. (PBL\_R88)*

However, the majority of respondents overall were not interested in these opportunities. These respondents felt that they did not need training to be engaged in tourism activities and earn money from tourism because of the unskilled labour they provided. One respondent who worked in the accommodation sector said: *"I can work as a housekeeper here and get monthly income. (I) do not need training for this (do the housekeeping job)."* (PBL\_R31)

Another reason is that they did not see the benefits of training activities. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, with almost 40 years of tourism experience, tourism industry members, particularly guides, have had much training with similar material from various stakeholders (see Chapter Five). Currently, many felt

reluctant to attend training since, in their opinion; it did not enhance their knowledge. As one guide said: *“Ah, I am lazy to join the training. (It) just the same (training material) given”* (PBL\_R13)

These people are more concerned with doing their job than attending training activities. They argued that with their current education level and abilities, they could find work and earn quite a lot of money. Some felt that interacting with foreign tourists could improve their ability. In addition, they see many people with higher education and many skills who remain unemployed; some others who have only elementary or junior high education can work as a guide and earn money. One guide who finished only elementary school said:

*Why we should pursue higher education? There are many people who have a bachelor degree but still unemployed. While me, I only finished elementary school but I can get a job and earn money. What is important is to get as many visitors as I can particularly international tourists. We can get the knowledge from them, moreover, money, of course.* (PBL\_R89)

In addition, the training conducted by stakeholders is not a requirement of their organisation. One guides said: *“There are some training from the organisation and other stakeholders, but it is up to us to attend or not. It is not a requirement. Besides the material given is not much influence on our work.”* (PBL\_R189).

To get initial employment as a guide, one has to attend training from the guiding organisation, which usually cooperates with the local government tourism office. Based on informal conversations, there are several training sessions conducted by stakeholders, such as NGOs and government, but none is mandatory for guides. In addition, there is no encouragement from the tourism organisation leader, so guides can choose whether they want to attend. One guides said they attend training if they have spare time or if they feel they need the material given. Another reason they do not want to attend training is that they feel they are “being used” by the stakeholders to fulfil their programme or to get more funding rather than to provide useful knowledge for the community. As one guide said: *“We are coming for what? It is not good for us. They just want to spend their budget and finish their programme. We are (the one) they used (for it)”* (PBL\_R122). This perception discourages them from being involved in the training or discussion activities conducted by stakeholders. This response may indicate a lack of trust between community members and stakeholders.

A majority of both genders disagreed with the statement that tourism makes them want to seek out further education and training opportunities (61.1% men disagreed and 81.0% of women), but the percentage of men who agreed with the statement (16.7%) is significantly higher ( $p < 0.001$ ) than for women (2.9%). This seems to be because the men see themselves as having a greater responsibility to provide for their family, so they have to improve their ability and skills to improve their livelihood.

Women respondents mostly disagreed because even those who work in the tourism are mostly employed in relatively domestic jobs, such as cleaning or cooking, that in their perception do not need much additional skill or higher knowledge. A housewife respondent said: *“(Me as a) housewife has to take care my family. We do not need high education to do the cooking and/or cleaning. Our mother has thought us about it”* (PBL\_R113). A few women expressed the opinion that they were keen for their children to pursue higher-level education so they could obtain a skilled job and better quality of life. One female respondent said:

*I am old, so I do not have to get a higher education. However, I send my son to college in a medical field in Medan (North Sumatera capital city). I hope he can find a better job as a nurse or other better job and get a better life than I here get.* (PBL\_R92)

The men also do not need more education because, according to their assumptions, money for business capital and being acquainted with foreign tourists is more important, as a guide said:

*The most important (thing) is money. Since if we want to build a business, we will need money for it. (It) will be better if we have foreign people as a friend or family, so they can help us improve our business, while for knowledge, we can learn it along the way, learning by doing.* (PBL\_R3)

The results indicate that tourism is not seen to improve one's status in the community since only 17.1% agreed with the statement (Table 7.7). This might be related to a lack of confidence in finding local employment, which also affects the lack of income earned from tourism. Not surprisingly, those directly involved in tourism, particularly those whose primary occupation was tourism-related, were most likely to agree with the statement. Even so, only 37.4% of those directly involved in tourism agreed. However, this compares with 2.9% of those not directly involved in tourism. A few respondents who supported the statement explained that their involvement in tourism meant they were better known and recognised in the community, by locals and outsiders alike. In addition, by engaging in tourism activities, some respondents said that they had developed friendships with international people, and this had become a matter of special pride for them. One respondent, who worked as a guide, particularly of international tourists, said:

*Working in the tourism industry makes me meet many people, can interact with foreign people. I even have some friends from Switzerland, one of my friend married to foreign people. It makes me happy and proud.* (PBL\_R88)

Therefore, the opportunity to interact with visitors, particularly international tourists, may improve the psychological empowerment felt by individuals in the community. This opportunity factor is reinforced by the main occupation result that shows that respondents who work in tourism (50%) or as a guide (48.3%) were more likely agree that tourism in their village could improve their status in the community. It is not surprising that respondents who were more likely to agree that tourism



increased their status are those who stay in the tourism hamlet (Dusun VII, 31.6%) and the hamlets adjacent to the tourism hamlet (Dusun VI, 20.0%; Dusun I, 4.2%). No respondent from hamlets far from the tourism hamlet (Dusun II, III, and IV) agreed with the statement.

In general, respondents did not see any tension between the use of natural resources for tourism in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and their ability to access these resources; only 1.2% of respondents agreed with the statement. Respondents who were more likely to feel tourism restricted their access to natural resources were from the older age group (20% of 65-74-year-olds agreed;  $p < 0.001$ ); and those who had been involved in tourism in the past (11.1% agreed;  $p < 0.001$ ). An elder explained that, in the past, villagers often went into the national park to carry out activities using forest products, but now their access was somewhat limited. The community is not allowed to use forest products such as plants or animals. The increased number of tourists coming to the area was felt to be somewhat responsible for these restrictions, rather than the fact that these restrictions were imposed separately from tourism development. Respondents who were involved with tourism in the past referred to changes in government policy that limited activities within the national park area, particularly those related to orangutan observation. One respondent who used to work as a guide explained:

*There used to be orangutan-feeding activities, and people can also freely enter into the area. At this time, there is no more orangutan feeding activity; there is only viewing activities only. Then people who want to enter the destination must also pay admission. (PBL\_R23).*

### **Tourism development: A sense of disappointment in the community**

Tourism development in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang seems to have left some people disappointed since 38.0% agreed with the statement “Tourism in my village makes me feel disappointed with tourism development’ and only 20.9% did not feel disappointed. Those more likely to feel disappointed were older people, those who were once involved in tourism, and male respondents. Older people (48.6% of age group 45-54; 56.8% of the 55-64 group; 66.7% of the 75-84 group agreed) felt disappointed because they saw changes in community behaviour, and decreased environmental and tourism attraction quality, with the following quotations summarising this view:

*There is no profit; there is a loss because of the garbage from the tourist places into the rice fields. Much waste dumped into the river. Public awareness is also lacking. In the past time, we do not throw the waste into the river. (PBL\_R62)*

*There is a sense of sadness/disappointment because nature so not as beautiful as before. Instead of children now, a little bit afraid, (because) many people getting drunk, (their) clothes also (changes), free culture. (PBL\_R65)*

Of the respondents who once were involved in tourism, 55.6% agreed that they felt disappointed. In their opinion, tourism development in the past was much better than currently. Some reasons

expressed by the respondents are the decreased tourist numbers, the quality of the tourist guide service, the decrease in environmental conditions, for example, the river condition, and changes in orangutan behaviour that threatened tourists. With respect to guide behaviour, several former guides explained:

*In the past time, to become a guide, we have to pass (some kind of) competency test. At least we have to know about wildlife or plant species. We have to be able to explain (about) those plants; how old that plant is; where we can find them, etc. However, now, I notice that the new guide does not do that anymore. When they were guiding, they only point out (and say) 'Hey there is an orangutan, please do not be noisy'. However, they do not explain why or how the orangutan lives or where the tourist can find it. (PBL\_R1).*

*In tourism (there is) an issue with guides. They are likely to fight each other to get the tourist. Since the second flood, (there is also) fighting over the land because many locals are washed away. (PBL\_R63)*

These responses seem to relate to the lack of interest of community members, particularly guides, to pursue higher education or find training opportunities. Since guides, currently, are reluctant to participate in training or pursue higher education, their knowledge and ability to give tourists better service is also reduced, which creates disappointment for some community members.

Even though there is no significant difference, men were more likely to agree that they felt disappointed regarding tourism development in their village (43.7% cf. 32.8%); women respondents were more likely to choose neutral (40.9%). Women chose neutral because they were not sure what they felt towards the situation (*pers. comm. women respondents*). However, some women respondents agreed because, besides the negative impacts on the community, some also felt that there was a negative impact on their families, especially their husbands and children who worked in tourism. They said that their family's behaviour had changed in a bad way. One respondent, who is a housewife and has a husband working as a guide, said:

*I do not get benefit from tourism except (feeling) sad and also angry. My husband rarely came home. After he guides the tourist to the forest, he mostly spends the time with his friend at the Bukit Lawang area, partying, drinking with the tourist and playing card (gambling) with his friend. (PBL\_R4)*

Involvement in tourism planning was also a factor that influenced respondents' disappointment with tourism development ( $p < 0.05$ ). Those who were involved in tourism were more likely to be disappointed than those who were not involved (68.8% cf. 33.8%). This may be because their expectations (or what was discussed in the planning or decision-making) is different from reality. One respondent who participated in tourism planning meetings said: *"The planning is good, but the*

*reality is far from what was expected. Last time they (the stakeholders) said that there would be an improvement in the area, but until now ... were ... nothing” (PBL\_R4).*

As indicated in the literature (Section 2.3), involvement in tourism development, both in the tourism industry and planning, could enhance community empowerment in the psychological dimension. The survey results show that tourism in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang provides evidence that it can enhance psychological empowerment. Others factor that influences psychological dimensions are education, community perception related gender role, and hamlet distant from tourism activities.

### 7.3.3 Respondents’ perceptions regarding social empowerment

Social empowerment refers to the ability of tourism to enhance community interaction and/or collaboration and, by extension, community cohesion, resilience, well-being, social capital and solidarity (Boley et al., 2015). In this village, tourism development seems not to empower the community in the social dimension since more respondents disagreed that they felt more connected to their community (44.5%), half of the respondents did not feel that tourism provided ways for them to get involved in the community; and more respondents agreed that tourism increased conflict within the community (44.9%) than disagreed. Nearly half of the respondents did not know if they wanted to work with others to ensure the success of tourism development (42.6%) (Table 7.8).

Table 7.8 Respondents’ perceptions of social empowerment indicators in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang’s tourism development (n=263).

Indicators	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. Tourism in my village makes me feel more connected to my community.	14.4%	41.1%	44.5%
2. Tourism in my village provides ways for me to get involved in my community.	16.3%	33.5%	50.2%
3. Tourism in my village encourages me to work with others to ensure it is a success.	22.4%	42.6%	35.0%
4. Tourism in my village increases conflict within my community.	44.9%	29.6%	25.5%

Respondents’ involvement in tourism is one characteristic that affected perceptions about whether tourism makes people feel more connected to their community ( $p. < 0.01$ ). The results show that even though more respondents were generally neutral, or disagreed, on this issue, respondents who were involved in tourism were more likely to agree with the statement (28.6%) than those who did not (3.8%). In particular, those employed in tourism or as a guide had a higher percentage agreeing compared with other occupations (45.5% and 34.5%:  $p. < 0.001$ ). In this case, tourism can encourage community cohesion since the people have to cooperate and work together to serve the tourists (similar goal). For example, respondents talked about how if they lack skills in promotion, or have limited facilities, they would work with others who have that capacity. As one accommodation owner said:

*We work together with the cafe next door (in supplying food). Then for promotion, we also work with the guide (mentioned guide name). If we have to do it all by our self, we cannot afford it. We do not have enough money. (PBL\_R23)*

Involvement in tourism also seems to affect community opportunities to be involved in the community ( $p. < 0.01$ ); more respondents who are involved in tourism agree (33.9%) compare with that who were not involved (2.3%). This is particularly for respondents who work in tourism (59.1%) or as guides (48.3%); which means the main occupation of respondents becomes an enabling factor ( $p. < 0.001$ ). Based on informal conversations, by working in tourism, people can participate in events arranged by other stakeholders, such as local and central government, NGOs or tourism organisations, e.g., training activities, tree planting or restoration. As one tourism industry employee said: *"There is many organisations conducting programmes in this village...they usually invite us to participate in their programme..." (PBL\_R31)*

Entrepreneurs and civil servants/government employees mostly chose neutral, which means they did not feel any difference in their involvement in community activities. The civil servants/government employees frequently are involved in community activities because of their position or job and not because tourism development exists in the area. As one of the village government officials said: *"Well, we are often involved in community activities but not in tourism. That is because we are invited as representatives of the village" (PBL\_R219).*

Regarding the statement: "tourism encourages me to work with others to ensure it is a success", most Perkebunan Bukit Lawang respondents chose the neutral response. One reason is that they do not feel any connection with the development since they were rarely involved in decision-making or were asked for their opinion. Involvement in tourism ( $p. < 0.01$ ), involvement in planning/decision-making process ( $p. = 0.05$ ) and education level ( $p. = 0.05$ ) are the factors that influence the respondents' perceptions. More respondents who were directly involved in tourism agreed that they wanted to cooperate with others to ensure success (39.3%) than those not involved (9.8%). Those involved in tourism planning or decision-making were also more likely to agree that they want to work with others to ensure success (59.4% cf. 17.3% agreed). The results show that to encourage people to work together to ensure the success of tourism development, the community has to be exposed to each other and have a need to collaborate with each other (Maruyama et al., 2016a). A respondent who was directly involved feels they benefited from tourism. Therefore, they wanted tourism development to be more successful so they can get more benefit. As emphasised by one tourism industry employee: *"Well, I want to work with others to make tourism (in this village) more advanced and successful. If tourism is a success, it means I can get more money from it" (PBL\_R200).*

This response indicates that benefits gained by the community could encourage community members to work with others to make tourism development successful. In other words, the benefits perceived by the community and community involvement affect members' support for tourism development (Lee, 2013).

The respondent's main occupation also influenced perceptions about whether tourism encouraged them to work to ensure its success ( $p. < 0.01$ ). Respondents whose main occupation was as a tourism industry employee or guide mostly agreed with the statement (59.1% and 44.8%). Generally, this is because they benefited from tourism; therefore, they wanted to ensure that the industry is sustained; as they said: *"we get income from tourism activities; therefore, we should make sure that tourism is sustained"*. A high percentage (41.4%) of guides choose the neutral position because they did not know whether they wanted to cooperate with others to make tourism a success. They think that currently, tourism development is already good; therefore, there is nothing else to do. Respondents who were in odd jobs, an entrepreneur, in retirement and a civil servant/government employee mostly chose the neutral position also. Farmers, plantation employees, and housewives disagreed with the statement. In their opinion, tourism development did not relate to their livelihood or daily activities, so they did not need to cooperate to make sure of its success. Another factor that encourages the community to cooperate in tourism development is education level ( $p. < 0.05$ ). About a third of those with high school education or higher agreed that tourism encouraged them to work together to ensure its success.

Nearly half the respondents (44.9%) agreed that there was increased conflict resulting from tourism development in their area. Even though it was not significantly different ( $p. > 0.05$ ), a small majority of the male respondents (50.8%) agreed with the statement while only 39.4% of women respondents agreed with it. Men respondents who agreed with this were concerned that there was more conflict within the tourism sector and their daily life. As one man who used to work as a guide said:

*Conflict within the tourism organisation still exists, (for example) when there are training activities conducted, not all (members can) participate or be notified. (There are) attention from the relevant stakeholder for tourism development, for example, by providing training or learning for guides. However, the condition is now a little hampered because of the conflict within HPI itself. In the past, about three years ago, there was a training for the guide about ecotourism, forest introduction, etc., but now it rarely conducted. (PBL\_R1).*

A few respondents mentioned competition and jealousy between tourism businesses. As one tourism industry employee said: *"(Decrease in) association between communities...people are envious of each other's business"* (PBL\_R4).

Female respondents were more concerned about conflict within their household. Several women, particularly those whose husband was a guide, felt that their husband's behaviour was changing and causing conflict in their marriage. Based on field observations and informal conversations, there are some issues in the village. For example, some of the villagers (mostly involved in tourism) are using drugs, gambling, and drinking. There is also a brothel in the tourism hamlet. These issues have led to conflict within households (e.g., between husband and wife, parents and children). Wives feel that their husbands spend too much money on drink or gambling rather than on their daily needs, such as food or school necessities. This suggests that tourism may, in fact, be socially disempowering for some, particularly for women, as suggested by Mansperger, 1993 as cited at Scheyvens (1999).

The survey results indicate that an enabling factor for social empowerment is involvement in tourism, which has been noted in the literature (Chapter Two). The need to work together and collaborate that is leading to social empowerment is becoming a major reason for the increase in social empowerment. Another factor considered an enabling factor for social empowerment is education. As described in the literature, education can enhance community knowledge related to tourism and make people aware of the potential benefits from tourism development. That could increase their intentions to work with others to ensure the success of tourism development. However, it is quite surprising that involvement in tourism planning is not a factor that enhances social empowerment; literature notes that involvement in planning is a crucial factor in achieving community empowerment. Arguably, the relatively low level of involvement in planning could be the reason for this result.

#### **7.3.4 Respondents' perceptions regarding political empowerment**

Political empowerment is about the ability that a local community has to control the level and type of tourism development in its surroundings (Boley et al., 2015; Scheyvens, 1999). Political empowerment means that the community's voices and concerns guide tourism development from the feasibility stage to implementation. Diverse interest groups within a community should have representation at the community and broader decision-making levels (Scheyvens, 1999). In this study, the focus of political empowerment is mainly related to the tourism decision-making process.

Table 7.9 shows that, on most measures, the majority of Perkebunan Bukit Lawang village community members feel they have little or no say over how tourism development occurs in their village, suggesting that tourism has not empowered them politically regarding tourism development. For example, less than a quarter of respondents (24%) agreed that they had an opportunity to voice their opinions about tourism development, and 48.1% of respondents disagreed with this statement. A very small percentage of respondents felt that tourism decision-makers would hear their opinion (4.2%) and that their needs and interests are considered in the tourism development process (6.5%). Only 22.8% agreed that they could ask questions about tourism development in their village.

Table 7.9 Respondents' perceptions of political empowerment in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang's tourism development (n=263).

Variables	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. I have an opportunity to voice my opinions about tourism development in my village.	24.0%	34.2%	41.8%
2. Tourism decision-makers would ignore my opinion about tourism development in this village.	51%,	44.8%	4.2%
3. My needs and interests are considered in the tourism development process.	6.5%,	47.1%	46.4%
4. I can ask questions relating to the tourism development process in the village.	22.8%,	35.4%	41.8%

Involvement in tourism is a significant factor that influences community members' perceptions of opportunities to voice their opinion and ask questions about tourism development in their village. Those directly involved in tourism (40.2%) were more likely to agree that they had the opportunity to voice their opinion, and 39.3% agreed that they can ask questions. These are much higher proportions than for those not involved in tourism (11.3% and 11.6% respectively). Guides, in particular, had the highest percentage among occupations that agreed that they had an opportunity to voice their opinion (75.9%) and ask questions about tourism development (75.9%). This is not surprising since the institution managing tourism activity in the area is the guides association (HPI/ITGA). Respondents who agreed that they have the opportunity to voice opinions and ask questions explained that it was because they were invited to the meetings, as guides. Community members who were involved in tourism in other roles were never invited to attend these meetings. The community was also never asked or consulted regarding tourism development in the village, which means that the organisation managing tourism activities in the area did not seek the opinions of other community groups (e.g., women, youth) and did not provide opportunities for those people to be represented on decision-making bodies (Scheyvens, 1999). Based on informal conversations, the tourism organisation representative said that as a plantation village, it did not have any relationship to tourism development. For every meeting, the invited people were only HPI members.

Involvement in tourism planning is a variable that has a significant impact on the opportunity to voice opinions ( $p. < 0.01$ ) and ask questions related to tourism development in their village ( $p. < 0.001$ ). Those involved in tourism planning were more likely to agree that they had an opportunity to voice their opinion (71.9% cf. 17.3%) and that they could ask questions compared with those who were not involved (56.3% cf. 18.2%). However, involvement in tourism planning did not translate to their opinions being heard by the decision-makers since only 12.5% of those involved agreed with this statement. Being involved in tourism planning also does not mean that their needs and interests were being considered in tourism development since only 28.1% of respondents involved in tourism planning agreed with the statement.

Ethnicity is a factor that influenced respondents' perceptions about their opportunity to voice opinions about tourism development ( $p. < 0.01$ ). The highest percentage of respondents who agreed with the statement were Karonese (42.6%), who are the group most involved in tourism. In addition, the respondents' location (hamlet) also was a factor that influenced respondents' perceptions related to the statement ( $p. < 0.05$ ). Those who lived in the tourism hamlet had the highest percentage agreeing with the statement (41%). Respondents who stayed in the hamlet close to the tourism hamlet had a higher percentage than those who lived in distant hamlets. For example, 16.7% of respondents from Dusun I (hamlet adjacent to tourism hamlet) agreed with the statement, but of those from Dusun II, located far away from the tourism hamlet (see Figure 5.1), only 3.2% agreed with the statement.

Gender also influenced respondents' perceptions about whether they had an opportunity to voice their opinions about tourism development in their village and be able to ask questions relating to tourism development. Male respondents perceived that they had more opportunity to voice their opinions than women ( $p. < 0.05$ ) had, with 44.4% of men agreeing that they could voice their opinion and 41.3% agreed that they could ask questions relating to tourism development in their village. By comparison, only 5.1% of women agreed that they could voice their opinions, and 5.8% agreed that they could ask questions. This is partly due to the fact that the guides association is dominated by men (all guides are male), but also reflects broader cultural values. Nearly half of the women chose neutral (47.4%) since they did not feel that tourism activities were their business; therefore, they never tried to say anything. Several respondents said that women's main role and responsibility are to take care of their family and stay at home, so they are considered unnecessary in issues outside their household. As a guide stated: *"Women's main responsibility is to take care of the household's chores. There is no need for them (women) to take part in men affairs outside. Meetings are men affairs"* (R\_PBL).

Males usually called their wives "home people", that is, people who stayed at home. This perception discourages women from giving their opinions on matters outside the household, including in tourism development. Women get tourism information from men (their husbands or children) or special meetings of women (a recitation programme is known as "*wiridan*"). Nearly half of the women chose neutral (48.9%) regarding the statement whether they can ask questions relating to the tourism development process in the village, which implies either they never asked, do not know whether they can ask since they never tried, or do not care about the issue. The cultural factor plays a vital role in this indicator since women are often reluctant to voice their opinion in front of men (see Section 10.5.1).



Another factor that seems to influence community perceptions regarding political empowerment is education. The chi-square test did not show any significant difference between education levels ( $p > 0.05$ ), however, those with a higher education level were more likely to agree that they can ask questions related to tourism development in their village. Nearly half (46.2%) of the respondents with a higher education level (a diploma or undergraduate degree) agreed that they could ask questions because of a higher awareness that they have a right to ask questions even if they were not involved or invited to meetings regarding tourism development. Over half of those with lower education levels (i.e., no qualification (54.5%), elementary school (50.6%)), disagreed with the statement, while respondents with mid-level education, junior high school, mostly chose neutral (40.4%).

On the issue of whether the tourism decision-maker would hear their opinion and whether their needs and interest are being considered, the result shows that even though over 20% of respondents agreed that they could voice their opinion, fewer respondents (4.2%) felt that tourism decision-makers would hear their opinion and only 6.5% agreed that their needs and interests were considered in tourism development. Over half-the respondents disagreed that their opinion was being heard by the decision-makers and 46.4% disagreed that their needs and interests were considered in tourism development, including respondents who are members of the tourism organisation (guides). The percentage of guides who felt that the tourism decision-makers considered their needs and interests is higher than those for other occupations (20.7% agreed), but is still very low. Tourism industry employees and guides said that they tried to give opinions regarding their needs and interests to the decision-makers, but they did not know whether they were considered. The other respondent disagreed because they saw that the development conducted in their area never involved them or supported their needs. The decision-makers never asked them what they wanted or needed or considered their needs and interests.

The results indicate that tourism has not empowered the wider community politically. Even though some community members had an opportunity to voice their opinions, their opinions did not become a guide for the direction of tourism development. Several factors affected the extent of political empowerment perceived by community members such as involvement in tourism, ethnicity, gender, hamlet location, involvement in planning, and education. For gender, the result indicates that men are more politically empowered in tourism development than women. Community culture is considered one of the factors that influences this outcome. Hamlet location (geographical factor) is another factor, which is rarely discussed in relation to political empowerment. This result indicates that the closer a resident is to the tourism centre where the tourism organisation is located (the centre of power), the higher the opportunity they feel to be politically empowered. Personal factors such age seem not to influence the respondents' perceptions. It is surprising that involvement in

tourism planning did not much influence political empowerment in the area. The reason is, arguably, that their involvement is still at the lower level of community involvement; the literature notes for empowerment, that the community has to be involved in a “meaningful way”.

## **7.4 Conclusion**

Tourism development at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang does not seem to empower the community to any great extent. In the economic dimension, tourism primarily increased the income of people working in tourism. However, some in the community acknowledged that tourism could bring benefits to the community, even though the form of the benefits was still relatively unclear. In the social dimension, the tourism development cannot empower the wider community since there is no evidence of enhancement of community cohesion and relatively few people want to work together to make tourism development a success; in fact, there is some evidence that tourism is creating *less* social cohesion. Tourism development does seem able to increase psychological empowerment, however, particularly in increasing community pride in its resources. In relation to political empowerment, tourism development was unable to give opportunities for the wider community to participate in tourism planning. The study’s results indicate that there is a relationship between the community empowerment dimensions. For example, economic empowerment seems to relate to psychological empowerment; the increased income from tourism encourages some villagers to send their children to school so the children can pursue higher education levels. On the other hand, the lack of confidence in finding local employment affects the lack of income earned from tourism and the inability to increase community status.

Two factors identified that could enhance community empowerment in this context are involvement in tourism and knowledge. However, the study also indicated several factors that could limit community opportunity to involve in tourism industry namely culture, lack of government support, and a lack of capital, which are often mentioned in the literature. In addition, the study suggests another factor that rarely mentioned in the literature, the peripherality at the local level. Other surprising findings are that gender and education level do not limit opportunities to be involved in tourism, where many literatures are notes that those factors, in some cases, limit community opportunity to involve in the tourism industry. Related to knowledge, the study indicated that, other than through education (in the formal and informal form), the community could increase their knowledge through interactions with others. Several factors inhibiting community empowerment are: information asymmetry, lack of resources and skills, the type of tourism, the type of employment available, trust between stakeholders, cultural features (e.g., norms applied), and the political structure. In this context, those factors might reduce community opportunities, including for women and certain ethnic groups, from being involved in tourism development and decision-making (see Chapter 10).

## **Chapter 8**

### **The Extent of Community Empowerment from Tourism Development at Namo Sialang**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the results of the quantitative household survey regarding the extent of community empowerment resulting from tourism development in the village as perceived by the Namo Sialang residents. As in the previous chapter, this study used Scheyvens (1999) empowerment framework, which includes economic, psychological, social, and political dimensions, to assess the extent of community empowerment in tourism development in the area. The content of the chapter mirrors that of Chapter Seven. The first section gives an overview of the respondents' characteristics from the survey and compares it with the village population. The second section discusses the respondents' understanding of community empowerment. The third section discusses the respondents' sense of community empowerment resulting from tourism development, in terms of economic, psychological, social, and political empowerment.

#### **8.2 The survey respondents**

The village sample was taken proportionately, 27 – 29% from each hamlet population except for TM Arihta and Namo Gedang, where only 16% and 10%, respectively, were taken (Table 8.1). This difference in the sample was because of the hamlets' conditions. TM Arihta is located in a very isolated location within the forest, adjacent to the palm oil plantation. This hamlet does not have electricity and has insufficient water for daily needs, conditions which make official residents reluctant to stay there. Administratively, there should be 25 households in the hamlet, but when the researcher went to the hamlet, only about 10 houses were standing, and only four households were still in residence. Based on an informal conversation with the hamlet head, other households stay with family in another hamlet or village and visit only to check their property.

The second under-represented hamlet is Namo Gedang. This hamlet is located on the riverbank and is even more isolated than TM Arihta. The easiest way to reach this hamlet is by crossing the river by raft since the road to get there is very damaged and difficult to pass. When the researcher visited the hamlet, it was uninhabited because of flooding. The hamlet head did not know where the people had gone since he had moved from the hamlet a long time ago and had held his position for about three months. The researcher talked with him only by phone since he was out of the city for several weeks. However, the researcher met two villagers in a hamlet close to the hamlet who used to live in it.

Table 8.1 The number of households and the number of samples taken in each hamlet of Namo Sialang.

Hamlet Name	Number of households*	Number sampled	Percentage
1. Cinta Raja	135	36	27%
2. Titi Mangga	57	16	28%
3. Rimo Kayu	41	11	27%
4. TM Arihta	25	4*	16%
5. Kampung Ujung	26	7	27%
6. Suka Berbakti	42	12	29%
7. Namo Gedang	20	2*	10%
8. Namo Damak	35	10	29%
9. Rumah Sekolah	44	12	27%
10. Kwala Unggas	65	19	29%
11. Kwala Buluh	60	16	27%
12. Kwala Gemoh	59	16	27%
13. Emplasmen	47	13	28%
14. Teknik Kawasan	61	17	28%
15. AFD II Kawasan	60	16	27%
16. AFD I Kawasan	84	24	29%
17. PKS Kawasan	130	35	27%
18. Paya Mbelang	44	12	27%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1035</b>	<b>278</b>	

Source: Hamlet Head's notes

From 18 hamlets, one is a tourism hamlet (Kwala Buluh), five are plantation hamlets (i.e., Emplasmen, Teknik Kawasan, AFD I & II Kawasan and PKS Kawasan), where most of the residents are working for the plantation company. These hamlets are located far from the tourism hamlet (more than 13 km). Others hamlets are an ordinary hamlets.

### 8.2.1 Respondents' characteristics

Table 8.2 shows that the gender distribution of the sample is similar to the whole population. While comparisons are hard to make, the sample seems to significantly underrepresent those over 50 years of age and overrepresented those under 35. No comment can be made about education level because of the unavailability of data in the village demography book. The largest ethnic group in the survey is Karonese (43.5%) followed by Javanese (36.3%), which is similar to the village population. For the main occupation, it is not clear whether the sample represents the community because of differences in the types of occupation recorded in the demography book and those mentioned by the respondents. For example, the demography book does not include housewife, retiree, or guide; all occupations mentioned by respondents.

In addition to the main occupation, the researcher asked questions about whether the respondent had a secondary job to gain more understanding of their livelihood and their dependence on tourism

activities. The survey results show that 27% of respondents had a secondary occupation, and 46.3% of those involved in tourism had a secondary occupation.

Table 8.2 Respondents' characteristics compared with the village population (Source: Demography book year 2010 and survey).

Demography	Village	Sample	
	No. (%)	No.	%
<b>Gender</b>			
Men	2,263 (51%)	142	51.1%
Women	2,198 (49%)	136	48.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,461</b>		
<b>Age (years)</b>			
<18	(<20) 2.4% (21-29) 21% (30-49) 28.7%	-	-
18-24		33	11.9%
25-34		67	24.1%
35-44		75	27.0%
45-54		48	17.3%
55-64	(>50) 47.9%	38	13.7%
65-74		12	4.3%
75-84		1	0.4%
85-95		4	1.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>		<b>100.0%</b>
<b>Education</b>			
No qualification	n/a	14	5.0%
Elementary school	n/a	63	22.7%
Junior high school	n/a	49	17.6%
Senior high school	n/a	127	45.7%
Diploma	n/a	9	3.2%
Bachelor	n/a	16	5.8%
<b>Total</b>			<b>100.0%</b>
<b>Ethnic composition</b>			
Batak Karo	42.5%	121	43.5%
Javanese	41.5%	101	36.3%
Tobanese	-	17	6.1%
Mandailing	-	11	4.0%
Sundanese	-	10	3.6%
Others	16%	18	6.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Occupation</b>			
Farmer	20.5%	61	21.9%
Odds Job/others	40.9%	16	5.8%
Plantation Employee	36.9%	52	18.7%
Housewife	-	55	19.8%
Entrepreneur	1.1%	45	16.2%
Retirement	-	16	5.8%
Civil servant/government employee	0.7%	18	6.5%
Tourism industry employee	-	4	1.4%
Guide	0.02%	3	1.1%
Not working	-	8	2.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>100%</b>

For some respondents, tourism is the secondary income because of its seasonal characteristics; therefore, even though they are involved in tourism, some respondents held another type of job as their main occupation, e.g., farmer or government employee (*pers. comm. local community members*). The type of secondary occupation reported by Namo Sialang respondents included guide, guide assistant, trader, and farm worker.

### **8.2.2 Respondents' involvement in the tourism industry**

The researcher asked questions about whether the respondents or their family members were involved in tourism or tourism development. Only 19.4% of the respondents were directly involved in tourism. Their involvement can be divided into several categories: involvement in tourism activities (e.g., collecting the levy from local visitors, ranger, guide, guide assistant, tubing guide); accommodation services; elephant caretaker; tour operator; food and beverage services; safety and security; transport services; and other (e.g., waste management, Tangkahan English Club teacher). The characteristic of those who are involved in tourism is represented in Table 8.3.

Analysis of the results indicate that education does not influence community opportunities to be involved in the tourism industry ( $p. > 0.05$ ). However, those involved in tourism are likely to be male and have a higher education level. Factors that seem to influence involvement in tourism industry are gender ( $p. < 0.05$ ), age ( $p. < 0.05$ ); ethnicity ( $p. < 0.001$ ); family involvement, either in tourism or tourism planning ( $p. < 0.001$ ); live in the tourism hamlet or an adjacent hamlet ( $p. < 0.001$ ); be personally involved in tourism planning ( $p. < 0.01$ ); or have an occupation related to tourism ( $p. < 0.001$ ).

Men are more likely to be involved in tourism than women (22.5% cf. 14.7%). The percentage of those involved in tourism decreases as the respondents' age increases (Table 8.3). A quarter of respondents in the 25-34 years age group (25.4%), 18-24 (24.2%) and 35-44 years old (24.0%) are employed in tourism. Only one respondent in the 55-64 years age group was involved, and no respondent older than 65 was employed in tourism. Those involved in tourism planning were more likely to be employed in tourism than those who were not (44% cf. 16.2%).

No one without qualifications was employed in tourism, with participation increasing with higher education. It is suggested that even though there is no limit by age or education on being involved in tourism, it seems that those factors can influence the opportunity, or desire, to be involved. Karonese were the dominant ethnic group involved in tourism based on proportion (75%), while only 8% of Javanese, the second-largest ethnic group, were involved in tourism. Some Javanese respondents explained that they could not get involved in tourism because they did not "belong" to the village, even though they were born in the village or had lived there for a very long time.

Table 8.3 The characteristics of respondents who were involved in the tourism industry (n=278).

Characteristic	Involvement in the tourism industry						P-value
	Yes		No		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Involvement in planning							0.001**
Involved	11	44.0%	14	56.0%	25	100.0%	
Not involve	41	16.2%	212	83.8%	253	100.0%	
Gender							0.04*
Male	32	22.5%	110	77.5%	142	100.0%	
Female	20	14.7%	116	85.3%	136	100.0%	
Age (years)							0.043*
18-24	8	24.2%	25	75.8%	33	100.0%	
25-34	17	25.4%	50	74.6%	67	100.0%	
35-44	18	24.0%	57	76.0%	75	100.0%	
45-54	8	16.7%	40	83.3%	48	100.0%	
55-64	1	2.6%	37	97.4%	38	100.0%	
65-74	0	0.0%	12	100.0%	12	100.0%	
75-84	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%	
85-95	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	4	100.0%	
Education level							0.190
No education	0	0.0%	14	100.0%	14	100.0%	
Elementary School	8	12.7%	55	87.3%	63	100.0%	
Junior High School (SLTP)	11	22.4%	38	77.6%	49	100.0%	
Senior High School (SLTA)	28	22.0%	99	78.0%	127	100.0%	
Diploma/Undergraduate	5	20.0%	20	80.0%	25	100.0%	
Ethnicity							0.000***
Karonese	39	32.2%	82	67.8%	121	100.0%	
Javanese	4	4.0%	97	96.0%	101	100.0%	
Tobanese	2	11.8%	15	88.2%	17	100.0%	
Mandailing	2	18.2%	9	81.8%	11	100.0%	
Sundanese	3	30.0%	7	70.0%	10	100.0%	
Others	2	11.1%	16	88.9%	18	100.0%	
Family involvement							0.000***
Involved	31	44.9%	38	55.1%	69	100.0%	
Not involved	21	10.0%	188	90.0%	209	100.0%	
Hamlet						0.000***	
Cinta Raja	6	16.7%	30	83.3%	36	100.0%	
Titi Mangga	3	18.8%	13	81.3%	16	100.0%	
Rimo Kayu	1	9.1%	10	90.9%	11	100.0%	
TM Arihta	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	4	100.0%	
Kampung Ujung	2	28.6%	5	71.4%	7	100.0%	
Suka Berbakti	3	25.0%	9	75.0%	12	100.0%	
Namo Gedang	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	2	100.0%	
Namo Damak	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	10	100.0%	
Rumah Sekolah	2	16.7%	10	83.3%	12	100.0%	
Kwala Unggas	8	42.1%	11	57.9%	19	100.0%	
Kwala Buluh	15	93.8%	1	6.3%	16	100.0%	
Kwala Gemoh	9	56.3%	7	43.8%	16	100.0%	
Emplasmen	2	15.4%	11	84.6%	13	100.0%	
Tehnik Kawasan	0	0.0%	17	100.0%	17	100.0%	
AFD II Kawasan	1	6.3%	15	93.8%	16	100.0%	

Characteristic	Involvement in the tourism industry						P-value
	Yes		No		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
AFD I Kawasan	0	0.0%	24	100.0%	24	100.0%	0.000***
PKS Kawasan	0	0.0%	35	100.0%	35	100.0%	
Paya Mbelang	0	0.0%	12	100.0%	12	100.0%	
Main occupation							
Farmer	15	24.6%	46	75.4%	61	100.0%	0.000***
Odds Job	2	12.5%	14	87.5%	16	100.0%	
Plantation Employee	6	11.5%	46	88.5%	52	100.0%	
Housewife	1	1.8%	54	98.2%	55	100.0%	
Entrepreneur	13	28.9%	32	71.1%	45	100.0%	
Retirement	0	0.0%	16	100.0%	16	100.0%	
Civil servant/government employee	8	44.4%	10	55.6%	18	100.0%	
Tourism industry employee	4	100.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	
Guide	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	
Not working	0	0.0%	8	100.0%	8	100.0%	

As one Javanese respondent said: *"We also felt limited to join the tourism activities because we are not 'the son of the region'. Only certain family can build a business at Tangkahan, which is the Karonese"* (NS\_R19).

The Sundanese has a higher percentage of those involved in the tourism industry (30%) because they are assigned by the central government (GLNP) to work in Tangkahan to take care of the elephants. The elephant is a main tourist attraction in the area (*pers comm. GLNP manager*) (see Section 6.3.2).

In the regulations, the only limitation on who can and cannot be involved in tourism or a tourism organisation is that they must administratively be registered in either Namo Sialang or Sei Serdang villages. In reality, there seem to be additional limitations for certain ethnic groups, particularly Javanese, from being involved in tourism. The table also indicated that those who have family involved in tourism development are more likely to be involved in the tourism industry than those who do not have family involved (44.9% cf. 10.0%). This is because those already involved in tourism prefer to employ people they know, namely, their close friends or family. As one owner of accommodation said: *"I prefer to hire my family since I have known them for a long time, and also I want to help them to get an income..."* (NS\_R42). In addition, tourism business owners usually announce employment opportunities only at a family event or gathering, which means those with relationships with the family have the information about the job opportunity (*pers. comm. tourism business owner representative*). Therefore, asymmetry of information distribution, arguably, could be a factor that limits the opportunities for other ethnicities to be involved in tourism.

Table 8.3 indicates that respondents from the tourism hamlet (Kwala Buluh; 93.8%) and the hamlets closest to the tourism destination (i.e., Kwala Gemoh - 56.3% and Kwala Unggas - 42.1%), have a higher percentage of respondents involved in tourism. Some respondents who live at the further



away hamlets said that there were many jobs in tourism, but they did not want to apply because of the distance from their hamlet. As one Karonese respondent who lives about 15 km from the tourist destination said: *"I feel reluctant to work at Tangkahan...it is too far from my house and the salary is too small. I do not think it can cover my expenses (in travelling to the place of work)..."* (NS\_R168).

This suggests that respondents' intention or motivation to work in tourism is influenced by the location where they live.

In term of main occupations, respondents who are employed in the tourism industry were civil servant/government employees (44.4%), entrepreneurs (28.9%), and farmers (24.6%). Housewives (one respondent, 1.8%) was the smallest percentage of those involved in tourism, and no retired person was involved in tourism.

As suggested by many scholars, culture can be limiting or enabling factor for community empowerment, the results here provide evidence of this. Community culture, such as kinship, could enable community empowerment since it allows others who have close relationships with a person already involved in tourism development to also be involved in the industry. Conversely, it often excluded those who did not have any relations involved. Surprisingly, education seems not to influence community opportunities to be involved in tourism in the area. As in the previous chapter, geographical location, or being located peripherally to tourism activity, seems to have an impact on intentions to be involved in tourism.

### **8.2.3 Respondents' involvement in tourism planning/decision-making process**

The researcher asked respondents about their involvement in tourism development, that is, whether they attended or participated in meetings and discussions regarding planning, organising, or monitoring of tourism activities in the area. The tourism development in this village is a "bottom-up" approach. Therefore, it is expected that community members are more likely to be involved in the tourism planning process. However, the survey result showed that only 9% of respondents indicated that they were involved in these activities. It might be because those who are invited to tourism planning meetings are only the representative of the community (e.g., head of hamlets, informal community leader), with an expectation that those people represent the wider community and distribute the information from the meeting.

Those who indicated involvement in tourism planning said that they were usually actively involved in meetings or discussions by voicing their opinions and participating in decision-making. The meetings that had attended related to conservation issues; discussions about tourism planning; attending a tourism organisation congress and the tourism organisation's election of the board; another other meetings and discussions in the village office. Table 8.4 shows the characteristic of respondents who stated they are involved in tourism planning.

Table 8.4 The characteristics of respondents involved in tourism planning (n=278).

Characteristic	Involvement in the tourism planning process						P-Value
	Yes		No		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Involvement in tourism							0.001**
Yes	11	21.2%	41	78.8%	52	100.0%	
No	14	6.2%	212	93.8%	226	100.0%	
Gender							0.001**
Male	21	14.8%	121	85.2%	142	100.0%	
Female	4	2.9%	132	97.1%	136	100.0%	
Age							0.424
18-24	4	12.1%	29	87.9%	33	100.0%	
25-34	3	4.5%	64	95.5%	67	100.0%	
35-44	9	12.0%	66	88.0%	75	100.0%	
45-54	7	14.6%	41	85.4%	48	100.0%	
55-64	2	5.3%	36	94.7%	38	100.0%	
65-74	0	0.0%	12	100.0%	12	100.0%	
75-84	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%	
85-95	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	4	100.0%	
Education level							0.266
Do not have education	0	0.0%	14	100.0%	14	100.0%	
Elementary School	6	9.5%	57	90.5%	63	100.0%	
Junior High School (SLTP)	8	16.3%	41	83.7%	49	100.0%	
Senior High School (SLTA)	9	7.1%	118	92.9%	127	100.0%	
Diploma/Undergraduate	2	8.0%	23	92.0%	25	100.0%	
Ethnicity							0.021*
Karonese	19	15.7%	102	84.3%	121	100.0%	
Javanese	5	5.0%	96	95.0%	101	100.0%	
Tobanese	0	0.0%	17	100.0%	17	100.0%	
Mandailing	0	0.0%	11	100.0%	11	100.0%	
Sundanese	1	10.0%	9	90.0%	10	100.0%	
Others	0	0.0%	18	100.0%	18	100.0%	
Family involvement							0.000***
Involve	16	23.2%	53	76.8%	69	100.0%	
Not involve	9	4.3%	200	95.7%	209	100.0%	
Hamlet							0.087
Cinta Raja	5	13.9%	31	86.1%	36	100.0%	
Titi Mangga	2	12.5%	14	87.5%	16	100.0%	
Rimo Kayu	2	18.2%	9	81.8%	11	100.0%	
TM Arihta	1	25.0%	3	75.0%	4	100.0%	
Kampung Ujung	2	28.6%	5	71.4%	7	100.0%	
Suka Berbakti	0	0.0%	12	100.0%	12	100.0%	
Namo Gedang	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	2	100.0%	
Namo Damak	1	10.0%	9	90.0%	10	100.0%	
Rumah Sekolah	2	16.7%	10	83.3%	12	100.0%	
Kwala Unggas	3	15.8%	16	84.2%	19	100.0%	
Kwala Buluh	1	6.3%	15	93.8%	16	100.0%	
Kwala Gemoh	3	18.8%	13	81.3%	16	100.0%	
Emplasmen	1	7.7%	12	92.3%	13	100.0%	
Tehnik Kawasan	0	0.0%	17	100.0%	17	100.0%	
AFD II Kawasan	0	0.0%	16	100.0%	16	100.0%	

AFD I Kawasan	0	0.0%	24	100.0%	24	100.0%	
PKS Kawasan	0	0.0%	35	100.0%	35	100.0%	
Paya Mbelang	1	8.3%	11	91.7%	12	100.0%	
<b>Main occupation</b>							<b>0.291</b>
Farmer	10	16.4%	51	83.6%	61	100.0%	
Odd Job	2	12.5%	14	87.5%	16	100.0%	
Plantation Employee	4	7.7%	48	92.3%	52	100.0%	
Housewife	2	3.6%	53	96.4%	55	100.0%	
Entrepreneur	5	11.1%	40	88.9%	45	100.0%	
Retirement	0	0.0%	16	100.0%	16	100.0%	
Civil servant/government employee	1	5.6%	17	94.4%	18	100.0%	
Tourism industry employee	1	25.0%	3	75.0%	4	100.0%	
Guide	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%	
Not working	0	0.0%	8	100.0%	8	100.0%	

The results indicate that ethnicity ( $p. < 0.05$ ), family involvement ( $p. < 0.001$ ), gender ( $p. < 0.01$ ) and involvement in tourism ( $p. < 0.01$ ) are the characteristics that influence respondents' involvement in tourism planning. Age, education level, hamlet location, and main occupation seem not to influence respondents' opportunities to be involved in planning.

Those involved in tourism planning came from almost all age groups – the oldest was in the 55 – 64 age group – came from all education levels, although none of those with no qualification were involved. No retired person was involved in tourism planning. Surprisingly, none of the guides and only one respondent who worked in tourism said they were involved in the planning/decision-making process. The meeting mechanism is the factor that affects this. For meetings related to tourism planning, those invited are the leader of the ranger group, the community leader and a community representative, which also explains why 7.7% who are plantation company employees and other respondents who do not work in tourism said that they were involved in the tourism planning. This is related to individuals' status as a hamlet head or as an elder in the hamlet. However, involvement in the tourism industry and family involvement seems to be a factor that enhanced respondents' opportunities to be involved in tourism planning. Those involved in the tourism industry, particularly tourism business owners, more likely to be involved in the tourism planning process (21.2% cf. 6.2%). In term of family involvement, the results show that 23.2% of respondents with family members involved in tourism or tourism planning said that they were involved in the planning, and only 4.3% of respondents who do not have family involvement in tourism were involved in tourism planning.

Karonese were the ethnic group with the highest levels of involvement in tourism development (15.7%). This is not surprising since this ethnicity is the biggest in the village (see Table 8.4). However, only 5% of Javanese, the second largest ethnic group in the village, were involved in tourism planning. Tourism development history and cultural factors influence this result. The ethnic group that initiated tourism development in the village were Karonese, which influenced the opportunities

for other ethnic groups to participate in tourism planning. The Sundanese respondent involved in tourism planning is the national park representative assigned to stay in the village as the elephant caretaker/mahout.

Males were more likely to be involved in tourism planning than females (14.8% cf. 2.9%). The 2.9% of women involved in tourism development worked for the village government official or had a husband who worked there, so she also attended the meeting. Cultural values and norms of the community, arguably, are the factors influencing this result. In this community, men are the decision-makers and carry out activities outside the home. This makes them more likely to be involved in tourism planning.

Community culture, such as kinship, also influences involvement in tourism planning, since it allows others who are close relations of a person already involved in tourism development to also be involved in the planning. However, on the other hand, culture often excluded those who had no such relations or belonged to a different ethnic group as the “ruling group” demonstrate elite domination (a certain group decides who should or should not be involved in tourism planning /decision-making).

Community culture also caused women to be less involved in tourism planning. Education again seems not to influence community opportunities to be involved in tourism decision-making in this village.

#### **8.2.4 Respondents’ understanding of community empowerment**

In Namo Sialang, 33.5% of respondents had heard the term ‘community empowerment’. The characteristic of respondents who have heard about community empowerment is presented in Table 8.5. Respondent characteristics, which influenced knowledge of community empowerment, are: education level ( $p < .000$ ), ethnicity ( $p < 0.01$ ), family involvement in tourism or tourism planning ( $p < 0.05$ ), gender ( $p < 0.01$ ), hamlet where they lived ( $p < 0.01$ ), personal involvement in tourism ( $p < 0.001$ ), involvement in tourism planning ( $p < 0.05$ ), and main occupation ( $p < 0.001$ ). There is no significant difference between age groups, however, the results show that the younger generation (less than 54 years old) were more likely to have heard about community empowerment than the older generation (more than 55 years old).

Education level seems to influence community knowledge about community empowerment. The results show that only two people (14.3%) with no qualification had ever heard of the term. The highest percentage of those who knew about the term were those who had diploma/ undergraduate level education (64.0%). Those who were involved in tourism were more likely to have heard of this term (57.7%) than those who were not involved (27.9%), with a similar distinction between those involved in tourism planning and those not involved (52% cf. 31.6%).

Table 8.5 The characteristic of respondents who have heard about the 'community empowerment' term (n=278).

Characteristic	Heard Community Empowerment						P value
	Yes		No		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Involvement in tourism industry							0.000***
Yes	30	57.7%	22	42.3%	52	100.0%	
No	63	27.9%	163	72.1%	226	100.0%	
Involvement in planning process							0.039*
Yes	13	52.0%	12	48.0%	25	100.0%	
No	80	31.6%	173	68.4%	253	100.0%	
Gender							0.003**
Male	59	41.5%	83	58.5%	142	100.0%	
Female	34	25.0%	102	75.0%	136	100.0%	
Age							0.322
18-24	11	33.3%	22	66.7%	33	100.0%	
25-34	23	34.3%	44	65.7%	67	100.0%	
35-44	29	38.7%	46	61.3%	75	100.0%	
45-54	19	39.6%	29	60.4%	48	100.0%	
55-64	7	18.4%	31	81.6%	38	100.0%	
65-74	4	33.3%	8	66.7%	12	100.0%	
75-84	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%	
85-95	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	4	100.0%	
Education Level							
Do not have a qualification	2	14.3%	12	85.7%	14	100.0%	
Elementary School	10	15.9%	53	84.1%	63	100.0%	
Junior High School (SLTP)	15	30.6%	34	69.4%	49	100.0%	
Senior High School (SLTA)	50	39.4%	77	60.6%	127	100.0%	
Diploma/Undergraduate	16	64.0%	9	36.0%	25	100.0%	
Ethnicity							0.009**
Batak Karo	46	38.0%	75	62.0%	121	100.0%	
Javanese	25	24.8%	76	75.2%	101	100.0%	
Batak Toba	6	35.3%	11	64.7%	17	100.0%	
Mandailing	2	18.2%	9	81.8%	11	100.0%	
Sunda	8	80.0%	2	20.0%	10	100.0%	
Others	6	33.3%	12	66.7%	18	100.0%	
Main Occupation							0.000***
Farmer	17	27.9%	44	72.1%	61	100.0%	
Odd Job	7	43.8%	9	56.3%	16	100.0%	
Plantation Employee	20	38.5%	32	61.5%	52	100.0%	
Housewife	10	18.2%	45	81.8%	55	100.0%	
Entrepreneur	17	37.8%	28	62.2%	45	100.0%	
Retirement	2	12.5%	14	87.5%	16	100.0%	
Civil servant/government employee	12	66.7%	6	33.3%	18	100.0%	
Tourism industry employee	3	75.0%	1	25.0%	4	100.0%	
Guide	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	
Not working	2	25.0%	6	75.0%	8	100.0%	
Family Involvement							0.042*
Has Family involved	30	43.5%	39	56.5%	69	100.0%	
Do not has family involved	63	30.1%	146	69.9%	209	100.0%	
Hamlet							0.002**

Cinta Raja	12	33.3%	24	66.7%	36	100.0%
Titi Mangga	5	31.3%	11	68.8%	16	100.0%
Rimo Kayu	2	18.2%	9	81.8%	11	100.0%
TM Arihta	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	4	100.0%
Kampung Ujung	2	28.6%	5	71.4%	7	100.0%
Suka Berbakti	5	41.7%	7	58.3%	12	100.0%
Namo Gedang	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	2	100.0%
Namo Damak	4	40.0%	6	60.0%	10	100.0%
Rumah Sekolah	3	25.0%	9	75.0%	12	100.0%
Kwala Unggas	1	5.3%	18	94.7%	19	100.0%
Kwala Buluh	11	68.8%	5	31.3%	16	100.0%
Kwala Gemoh	11	68.8%	5	31.3%	16	100.0%
Emplasmen	3	23.1%	10	76.9%	13	100.0%
Tehnik Kawasan	5	29.4%	12	70.6%	17	100.0%
AFD II Kawasan	6	37.5%	10	62.5%	16	100.0%
AFD I Kawasan	2	8.3%	22	91.7%	24	100.0%
PKS Kawasan	12	34.3%	23	65.7%	35	100.0%
Paya Mbelang	7	58.3%	5	41.7%	12	100.0%

The results indicate that being involved in tourism development could enhance community knowledge of the community empowerment term.

The highest percentage of respondents who had heard about community empowerment were the Sundanese (80.0%), followed by Karonese (38.0%). Only 24.8% of Javanese, which is the second-largest ethnic group in the village, had ever heard the term. Family involvement in tourism or planning did seem to enhance the opportunity for the respondents to hear about community empowerment. The percentage of those knowing the term who had family involved is higher than respondents who do not have family involved (43.5% cf. 30.1%).

The results show that gender could influence respondents' knowledge of community empowerment ( $p < 0.01$ ). Men (41.5%) were more likely to have heard of the term than women (25%). This may be because men have more opportunities to interact with outsiders (i.e., stakeholders) because of the cultural factor. The highest percentage who had heard of the term were respondents who worked as a guide (100%), followed by tourism employees (75%) and civil servants/government employees (66.7%).

The researcher asked those who had heard of the term to explain what it meant to them. A few respondents said that they had heard of the term but did not remember or did not have any idea about what it meant. Some respondents defined the term as a way to improve community capacity, namely, to develop community skills, knowledge, and the ability to do something to increase their welfare. As one male respondent who worked as a government employee said: *“Community empowerment is activities (to) improve the ability of the community to improve their standard of living through training, counselling, and other activities in the community” (NS\_R19).*

Interestingly, 19 people in this village defined empowerment in terms of women. This was particularly apparent amongst Karonese respondents (31.6%) and Javanese (26.3%). However, interestingly, only two of those involved in the tourism industry and one respondent who is involved in the tourism planning process defined empowerment in terms of women. While for women and men, the percentage of those who defined it as empowerment for women is almost similar (47.4% cf. 52.6%). Those with higher education were more likely to mention empowerment in terms of women (senior high school 42.1%, junior high school, and diploma/undergraduate 21.1%). For the main occupation, those who defined empowerment it in terms of women are the plantation company employees (31.5%) followed by housewives (21.1%). Only one of the government employees defined the concept in terms of women. Most of the respondents defined it as *“Family Welfare Development”*, which is a community organisation that empowers women to participate in Indonesia's development. Another definition given by a respondent who is a housewife is: *“Activities of women to create for something/anything that is useful (cooking, making bags, etc.)”* (NS\_R189)/

A woman Karonese respondent said:

*(Community empowerment is) training for women to make handicraft, how to screenprint, given the knowledge or guidance on how to make guests feel at home and tourism progressed by welcoming and treating guests, so they felt comfortable. (NS\_R5)*

Those responses suggested that the respondents see community empowerment as the increase of women ability and capacity, either related to their domestic role and also in their capacity in the tourism industry.

Some respondents explained empowerment in terms of the activities conducted to empower the community, primality training, counseling, and educational activities. The main concern of those activities are to enhance community ability to conserve natural resource and to enhance the economic condition of community, and not to improve decision-making ability. Community empowerment is explained by a respondent with elementary school education as:

*Training, counseling, activities to increase community skills to make people aware of nature's sustainability and can use natural resources as a source of income without destroying it, for example maintaining its natural beauty without cutting down trees. (NS\_R22)*

One respondent felt that community empowerment is a way to improve a community's ability so it could influence development, which is the closest meaning of the 'empowerment as a process' concept. The respondent, a young woman, who worked as a government employee and had finished senior high school level, stated: *“Community empowerment is a community being empowered so*

*they can have a certain ability to be considered influential in the local development and even the state” (NS\_R57).*

Others respondents described community empowerment as community participation or involvement in activities. One housewife said: *“Activities that involve the community, for example (in) mutual cooperation (“gotong royong”) activities or provide employment opportunities to the community to improve their welfare” (NS\_R59).* “Gotong royong” is a community culture where community members work together to achieve a certain purpose; which is similar to social empowerment. The response also indicates that the respondent thinks that empowerment is the increase of the opportunity to find a job; which is part of psychological empowerment.

To conclude, the result and expressions from respondents above show that respondents have an understanding of some of the elements of community empowerment (e.g., capacity development, ability to involve in development). Factors identified that could enhance community understanding of community empowerment are involvement in tourism, particularly those working as tourism industry employee or guide, tourism planning/decision-making, education, and community culture. Those factors are important since they could be a way for the community to access new knowledge, which is a resource for community empowerment. However, the culture, in this context, also can be a limiting factor in understanding the community empowerment concept. Age, however, seems not to be a factor that influences community understanding of community empowerment.

### **8.3 Respondents’ perceptions: The economic, psychological, social, and political dimensions**

This section reports the findings from the questionnaire regarding residents’ perceptions of empowerment resulting from tourism development across four dimensions: economic, psychological, social, and political empowerment.

#### **8.3.1 Respondents’ perceptions regarding economic empowerment**

Table 8.6 shows that a quarter of respondents felt that tourism development in Namo Sialang helped them pay their bills, and 17.6% had a choice about how to spend their money. This result is not surprising, since less than 20% of the population work in tourism. Respondents believed that other people receive most of the tourism profits and financial benefit; 83.1% of respondents agreed that most profits go to other groups such as local elite, outside operators and/or government agencies and 86.6% agreed that only a few people gain financial benefit from tourism. However, 69.8% of respondents agree that tourism can bring lasting economic benefits to the local community, and 45% agree that tourism supported public facility development. These results indicate that more respondents in this community perceive that tourism could result in benefits for the community. This



might be related to the planning approach to tourism development in this village, a “bottom-up” approach (see Chapter Six).

Table 8.6 Respondent’s perceptions of economic empowerment indicators in Namo Sialang’s tourism development (n=278).

Indicators	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. Tourism in my village helps me pay my bills.	25.9%	0.7%	73.4%
2. Income from tourism gives me choices in how I spend my money.	17.6%	3.6%	78.8%
3. Tourism in my village brings lasting economic benefit to a local community.	69.8%	23.0%	7.2%
4. Tourism in my village supports public facility development here.	45.0%	13.6%	41.4%
5. Most profits from tourism in my village go to local elite, outside operators or government agencies.	83.1%	11.5%	5.4%
6. Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefits from tourism in my village.	86.6%	6.5%	6.9%

### Economic benefits from tourism development

Not surprisingly, involvement in tourism or having family involved in tourism development seems to influence respondents’ perceptions about perceived benefits from tourism. Those involved in tourism were more likely to agree that tourism helped them pay their bills (80.8% cf. 13.3%;  $p < 0.001$ ) and that it gave them choices about how to spend their money (61.5% cf. 7.5%;  $p < 0.001$ ). All of those who work in the tourism industry as guides (100%) and as tourism employees (100%) agree with these statements. Other occupations with a quite high percentage agreeing with these statements are civil servants/government employees (50%), entrepreneurs (46.7%) and farmers (34.4%). The results show that those involved in tourism planning were more likely to agree that they had choices about how to spend their money (48% cf. 14.6%;  $p < 0.05$ ). The entrepreneurs and farmers got increased income because they can sell their products to the tourists or restaurant and accommodation owners. As one respondent who owned a food stall said: *“In the past time, it is difficult to sell our crop. However, since there is many visitors coming to our village, we can easily sell our product”* (NS\_R55).

Similarly, those who had family involved in tourism development were more likely to agree that tourism helped them pay their bills (55.1% cf. 16.3%;  $p < 0.01$ ) and gave them choices about spending their money (42% cf. 9.6%;  $p < 0.01$ ). However, the percentage agreeing that they had choices about how to spend their money is smaller than those who agreed that tourism helped them pay their bills, which suggests that income from tourism is more likely only enough to fulfil their daily needs.

The residential hamlet is one factor that influences respondents’ perceptions about whether tourism helped them pay their bills ( $p < 0.001$ ) and gave them choices about how to spend their money ( $p < 0.01$ ). Those who are likely agree that tourism helped them pay their bills are respondents who live in

the tourism hamlet (Kwala Buluh, 93.8%) and the hamlets adjacent to the tourism hamlet (Kwala Gemoh, 62.5%; Kwala Unggas, 57.9%).

In general, most respondents agreed that others, such as the local elite (tourism organisation/LPT member) and those who are involved in the tourism industry gain direct financial benefit from tourism received tourism profits. Comments were made that tourists pay a lot of money to tourism organisations for their activities, but most residents do not know where the money goes. As one respondent who worked for the plantation company said: *“There is a levy collected from the visitor. However, we do not know what it (the money for). Maybe it is only the tourism organisation officials”* (NS\_R202). This statement indicates that there is a lack of information and transparency about finances in the LPT, which may influence people’s views about who receives the benefits of tourism. Those who disagreed that most tourism profits go to local elite, outside operators or government agencies are those involved in the industry (24.1% cf. 0.9%), particularly the guides. Only 33.3% of the guides agreed that tourism profits go to other groups (Table 8.7).

Table 8.7 Respondents’ perceptions of whether “Most profits from tourism in my village go to local elite, outside operators or government agencies” based on the main occupation.

Main occupation	Most profits from tourism in my village go to local elite, outside operators or government agencies.		
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. Farmer	85.2%	11.5%	3.3%
2. Odd Job	75.0%	12.5%	12.5%
3. Plantation Employee	92.3%	3.8%	3.8%
4. Housewife	74.5%	25.5%	0.0%
5. Entrepreneur	86.7%	6.7%	6.7%
6. Retired	87.5%	6.3%	6.3%
7. Civil servant/ government employee	83.3%	5.6%	11.1%
8. Tourism industry employee	75.0%		25.0%
9. Guide	33.3%		66.7%
10. Not working	75.0%	25.0%	

In this way, those employed in tourism, who may have more knowledge about LPT and its operation, were more likely to believe the tourism organisation shared benefits from tourism income. The tourism organisation also supports the public facility repairmen, such as on the roads and bridges, and pays the salary for an English teacher so the village children can learn English free. However, the community is rarely informed about the benefit sharing. For example, some respondents did not know that they can send their children to the English school without paying. Information relating to this opportunity was distributed to only some family or community groups, particularly those who had family working in the tourism industry. Therefore, it seems that those people living more distant from tourism activities were more likely to feel that benefits were not shared with the community.

As one respondent who lived in plantation hamlet said: *“The economic benefit does not distribute to the wider community...only to those who lived around Tangkahan area’ (NS\_R186).*

Table 8.8 Respondents’ perceptions of whether “Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefits from tourism in my village” based on the main occupation.

Main occupation	Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefits from tourism in my village		
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. Farmer	91.8%	6.6%	1.6%
2. Odd Job	68.8%	18.8%	12.5%
3. Plantation employee	94.2%	-	5.8%
4. Housewife	89.1%	10.9%	-
5. Entrepreneur	82.2%	6.7%	11.1%
6. Retired	93.8%	-	6.3%
7. Civil servant/ government employee	77.8%	5.6%	16.7%
8. Tourism industry employee	50.0%	-	50.0%
9. Guide	33.3%	-	66.7%
10. Not working	87.5%	12.5%	-

Table 8.8 shown that most (66%) guides disagreed that only a few people or families receive the financial benefits from tourism because of they get good income from the tourism industry.

Amongst others employed in tourism half agree with the statement because even though they also get income from the tourism industry, the amount is lower than received by the guides. The guides receive payment of approximately IDR 2,000,000 (approximately NZ\$ 200) per month, even if they work (guiding) for only one day. This payment system seems unfair to other tourism employees since they receive IDR 800,000 – IDR 1,500,000 (approximately NZ\$ 80-150) for a month’s work (*pers. comm. tourism industry employee*).

To conclude, economic empowerment from tourism development at the individual level as perceived by community members in Namo Sialang is influenced by member’s involvement in tourism, both personally or through a family member, and hamlet location, as well as by types of involvement in tourism. Age, education, ethnicity, and gender seem not to influence respondents’ perceptions about the economic empowerment of individuals.

### **The benefits of tourism development for the wider community**

Even though most respondents feel that they do not get financial benefits personally from tourism, over half of respondents (69.8%) still see that tourism can bring benefits to the community and 45.0% respondents agree that tourism may support public facility development (see Table 8.6).

Those more likely to see that tourism can benefit the community are those directly involved in tourism (73.9% agreed;  $p < 0.01$ ) compared to those who are not (35.4% agreed). Gender is another factor that influences respondents’ perceptions about this issue ( $p < 0.05$ ). Men are more likely to agree

with the statement than women (50.7% cf. 39%). Several respondents who agreed mentioned some of the benefits gained by the community, including the existence of the recreation destination and improved community knowledge. In a response indicative of some others, a respondent who works as a ranger stated:

*There are (several) benefits, for example, there is natural attraction (that) close (to our place), the increase of the community awareness, especially those directly involved and improvement of economics and knowledge, particularly for young people. Some of them have experience visiting abroad. (NS\_R3)*

Other benefits felt by the community, even though they lived far from the tourist area, are the improved village safety and security. One man respondent who lived at Namo Damak, located about 15 km from Tangkahan, said:

*The tourism benefits we felt are the improvement in village safety and security. The current time is better than the past time. The community awareness to maintain village security is improving. There were many robberies in the past time. (NS\_R8)*

Hamlet location is another factor that seems to influence respondents' perceptions of tourism benefits to the wider community ( $p. < 0.01$ ). The hamlets with a lower percentage agreeing that tourism brings lasting economic benefit to the local community are TM Arihta (25%), the most isolated village hamlet, and AFD I Kawasan (25%) which is the hamlet furthest from the tourism hamlet (see Figure 6.1).

On the question of whether tourism supports public facility development in the village, respondents were relatively evenly split between those who agreed and those who disagreed on this issue (45.0% cf. 41.4% - see Table 8.5). The factors that influenced respondents' responses are: involvement in tourism ( $p. < 0.001$ ); main occupation ( $p. < 0.01$ ); family involvement in tourism development ( $p. < 0.001$ ); ethnicity ( $p. < 0.05$ ); gender ( $p. < 0.01$ ); and hamlet ( $p. < 0.001$ ). Those likely to agree are those involved in tourism (68.5% cf. 39.3%), such as guides (100% agreed), civil servants/government employees (72.2%), people doing odd jobs (62.5%), and tourism industry employees (50%). The groups least likely to agree are plantation company employees (28.8%) and the retired (31.3%). Men were more likely to agree with the statement than women (50.7% cf. 39%). The previous section indicated that kinship is one factor that could enhance empowerment in the individual and community level. It is not surprising that those who have family involved in tourism are more likely to agree that tourism supports public facility development in their area (73.9% cf. 35.4%). Karonese, the largest ethnic group (64.5%), were most likely to agree that tourism supported public facility development in the village, compared to only 32.7% of Javanese.

The result indicated that hamlet location could influence community members perception related to whether tourism supports public facility development in their village ( $p. < 0.01$ ) (Table 8.9).

Table 8.9 Respondents' perceptions about whether "Tourism in my village supports public facility development here" based on hamlet.

Hamlet	Tourism in my village supports public facility development here		
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. Cinta Raja	80.6%	11.1%	8.3%
2. Titi Mangga	68.8%	6.3%	25.0%
3. Rimo Kayu	27.3%	45.5%	27.3%
4. TM Arihta	-	-	100.0%
5. Kampung Ujung	28.6%	14.3%	57.1%
6. Suka Berbakti	58.3%	-	41.7%
7. Namo Gedang	-	-	100.0%
8. Namo Damak	20.0%	10.0%	70.0%
9. Rumah Sekolah	66.7%	8.3%	25.0%
10. Kwala Unggas	78.9%	5.3%	15.8%
11. Kwala Buluh	81.3%	12.5%	6.3%
12. Kwala Gemoh	81.3%	-	18.8%
13. Emplasmen	15.4%	30.8%	53.8%
14. Tehnik Kawasan	11.8%	17.6%	70.6%
15. AFD II Kawasan	12.5%	18.8%	68.8%
16. AFD I Kawasan	8.3%	12.5%	79.2%
17. PKS Kawasan	20.0%	17.1%	62.9%
18. Paya Mbelang	58.3%	25.0%	16.7%

Table 8.9 shows that the majority of respondents who lived in the hamlet where the tourism activities were centred (*Kwala Buluh*); the hamlets adjacent and close to the tourism destination (*Kwala Unggas and Kwala Gemoh*); and hamlets that the access to the tourism destination (*Cinta Raja, Titi Mangga, Suka Berbakti, Rumah Sekolah, and Paya Mbelang*) agreed that tourism supported public facility development in the village. They recognised that there are improved public facilities (e.g., roads and bridges) in these areas. Some stated that the tourism organisation supported repair, whereas others said that the government developed them to support tourism development in the area. These perceptions show that there is a lack of information regarding development in the village and benefit-sharing from tourism income with the community.

Respondents who mostly disagreed came from ordinary hamlets located far from the tourism destination and not on the primary access to the area; they do not feel any benefits from tourism. As one respondent who lived at TM Arihta (an isolated hamlet) said: "*Tourism does not improve our hamlet. The road is still damaged. We do not even have electricity. Business opportunities in the area are restricted to only certain people, even if we want to go there, we have to pay*" (NS\_R128).

Those who agreed that public facilities had improved explained that some facilities were developed by the LPT with money from tourism profits. The tourism organisation gave the money to village officials, and they used it to pay staff since they do not receive a high salary from the government. As one housewife whose husband worked in the LPT said:

*My husband said that the LPT (tourism organisation) repair the access road from Titi Mangga to Tangkahan. It used to be only a small path, but now the road is wider and being stoned. They (LPT) also build an English school for children. (NS\_R224)*

This result demonstrates that involvement in tourism could provide access to information about tourism development that enhances the family's knowledge of tourism development in the area. Information from their family could affect community members' perceptions of the economic benefits the community received since they will be more aware of changes happening in the village.

The results showed that the respondents perceived that tourism can support public facility development, whether direct support, i.e., financial support, to build things or attention from other stakeholders to support the development. Nevertheless, the recognition of support is not distributed to the wider area; improvements are focused only on hamlets related to tourism activities, such as the main access to the tourism destination.

To conclude, community empowerment resulting from tourism development in the community is influenced by community involvement in tourism, either personally or by family members, a benefit-sharing mechanism, access to information, and the location of the hamlet where a respondent lives. Involvement in planning, however, seems not to influence community perceptions of economic empowerment, either at the individual and community level.

### **8.3.2 Respondents' perceptions regarding psychological empowerment**

Table 8.10 indicates that tourism in Namo Sialang has increased the pride of most community members since 95.7% of respondents agreed that they feel special because people travel to see their village's natural resources, 81.3% feel proud of their culture, and only 2.5% feel inferior about their culture and way of life. This is an interesting finding since quite a small proportion of the residents are involved in tourism in this community, and there is relatively little evidence of personal economic empowerment, yet it seems psychological empowerment is quite strong. However, even though most respondents experienced increased pride, less than half wanted to share their traditional knowledge with the visitors.

Table 8.10 Respondents' perceptions of psychological empowerment indicators in Namo Sialang's tourism development (n=278).

Indicators	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. Tourism in my village makes me feel special because people travel to see my village's natural resources or traditional culture.	95.7%	2.2%	2.1%
2. Tourism in my village makes me feel proud of my culture.	81.3%	10.4%	8.3%
3. Tourism in my village makes me want to share my traditional knowledge with the visitors.	45.7%	24.1%	30.2%
4. Tourism in my village increases my confidence that I will find local employment.	23.7%	11.9%	64.4%
5. Tourism in my village increases my status in the community.	15.1%	10.1%	74.8%
6. Tourism in my village makes me want to seek out further education and training opportunities.	19.8%	6.8%	73.4%
7. Tourism in my village makes me feel that my culture and way of life is inferior.	2.5%	11.2%	86.3%
8. Tourism in my village restricts my access to natural resources.	38.5%	15.8%	45.7%
9. Tourism in my village makes me feel disappointed with tourism development.	22.6%	27.0%	50.4%

### Community pride in its natural resources, culture, and traditional knowledge

Respondents, whether involved in tourism or not (100% cf. 98.6%, respectively) or with family members involved in the tourism industry or not (98.6% cf. 94.7%), agree that tourism made them feel special about their natural resources and proud of their culture. The respondents feel special because they realise that their hamlet (or village) is famous, not only nationally but also internationally, since tourist numbers are increasing (see Chapter Six). As one respondent who owned a souvenir shop said:

*The advantage that I get, because this (Namo Sialang) village became famous to the world. I (also) get the benefit to interact with foreign people. (Our) souvenirs or handicrafts made by local people can show and introduce to the international tourist and also to another country. (NS\_R43)*

Respondents who were not involved in tourism felt their increased pride also. As a housewife explained: *"Of course I feel proud. I saw the television and those people are talking about Tangkahan. So now, many people knew about our place"* (NS\_R48).

The respondents who chose to disagree explained that they did not feel special because they did not relate to the tourism activities and felt physically removed from the tourism industry. One respondent who worked for the plantation company said: *"We do not feel special. We work in a plantation company, so we do not have any relation with tourism. Other than that, our place (hamlet) is far from Tangkahan (tourism destination), no tourist ever come to visit us"* (NS\_R213).

Those responses suggest that involvement in tourism, appreciation from tourists, and interaction with tourists or outsiders can increase community pride toward tourism developments in the area. In addition, exposure and access to information (through media and publications) can also increase community appreciation of its natural resource.

The results show that all of those involved in tourism felt special about their natural resources, whereas of those not involved, a few chose neutral (2.7%) or disagreed with the statement. Those involved in tourism had a higher percentage who agreed with the statement that tourism made them feel proud of their culture than those who were not involved (98.1% cf. 77.4%). There were 10.2% of those not involved in tourism who disagreed with the statement. This result indicates that involvement in tourism seems to influence community perceptions relating to the statement about tourism making them feel special because people traveled to see their natural resources or traditional culture ( $p < 0.05$ ) and made them feel proud of their culture ( $p < 0.001$ ). The proportion of respondents feeling special because of their natural resources is higher than those who feel proud of their culture. This may be because the area's main attractions are natural resources and get more attention than culture. Since culture is not the main attraction, opportunities to display it and get appreciation from tourists is not as high as for the natural resources (Chapter Six).

Respondents feeling that their culture and way of life is inferior seems to be associated with education level ( $p < 0.05$ ), and therefore knowledge of the individual. Over half (57.1%) of the respondents with no qualifications chose neutral for those feelings. Most respondents with education disagree (elementary school 82.5%; junior high school 85.7%; senior high school 92.1%; diploma/ undergraduate 92%).

Even though most respondents feel pride towards their natural and cultural resources, less than half (45.7%) agreed that they wanted to share their traditional knowledge with the visitors; 30.2% disagreed and 24.1% chose the neutral point. Those more likely agree are respondents who are personally involved in tourism (82.7% cf. 37.2%;  $p < 0.001$ ), such as tourism industry employees (100%) and guides (100%). Involvement in tourism planning meant respondents were more likely to agree with the statement than those not involved in planning (84% cf. 41.9%;  $p < 0.01$ ). Respondents who agreed explained that since they had more opportunities to interact with tourists that made them realise they have traditional knowledge that interests the tourists. As one guide said: *"Some of the international tourists often ask about how to make certain traditional food...to teach them a traditional song. It makes me realise that we have something (knowledge) to share with them"* (NS\_R26).

Involvement in tourism or tourism planning gave more opportunity for people to interact with visitors and share their knowledge because they realise the interest visitors have in their culture.



Another respondent was aware that they had traditional knowledge to share from the training or discussions conducted by the outside stakeholders, GLNP, and NGOs. As one tourism organisation member said: *“The NGOs teach us that our culture can attract the tourist as well. We have much knowledge that we can tell the tourist”* (NS\_R17). Therefore, it can be argued that knowledge transfer has an important role in increasing community confidence to share traditional knowledge with tourists (see Chapter Six).

Another factor that influences community confidence to share traditional knowledge is education level ( $p. < 0.001$ ). Respondents with higher education levels were more likely to agree that they wanted to share knowledge (senior high school 55.9% and diploma/undergraduate 76%). Higher education often gives people greater access to information that could enhance their capacity to take alternative options (psychological asset) (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005). In this case, their education made them more aware of cultural values and made them want to share them with visitors.

To conclude, the results suggest that several factors can enhance community empowerment including involvement in tourism and planning/decision-making and education. Personal factors such as age, gender, and hamlet location seem not to influence respondents' perceptions of whether tourism makes them feel special about their natural resources or traditional culture, feel proud of their culture, and intend to share their traditional knowledge with visitors.

### **Confidence in finding local employment, interest in pursuing further education, and community status**

Despite increased pride, less than half of the respondents felt confident that they can find tourism employment in their village. The factors that influence respondents' perception related to confidence to find local employment are involvement in the tourism industry ( $p. < 0.001$ ) or planning process ( $p. < 0.05$ ), and family involvement in tourism activities ( $p. < 0.01$ ). Respondents who are more likely to feel confident of finding local employment were those already involved in tourism (69.2% cf. 13.3%), particularly those who worked as tourism industry employees (100%) and guides (66.7%); had family involved in tourism activities (53.6% cf. 13.9%); or were involved in tourism planning (64% cf. 19.8%). The LPT representatives explained that to work in tourism in Tangkahan, particularly to become a guide, several requirements should be fulfilled by the potential employee. One requirement is that they have lived in the area for at least two years. This requirement makes community members who live far from the area reluctant to seek a job in tourism. As one respondent who lived in AFD I hamlet, which is over 15 km from Tangkahan, said:

*It is not easy for us to work there (Tangkahan). Our home is far from Tangkahan, and we do not have family there, so we do not have the place to stay...meanwhile they (the tourism organisation) told us, we have to stay at Tangkahan if we want to work there.* (NS\_R183)

In addition, opportunities to work in Tangkahan are rarely announced to the wider community. As one tourist accommodation owner said: *"Usually, if we need a new employee, we announce it at a family gathering or family party or ask our family to find the employee for us. It is easier for us to do that than announce it to the public"* (NS\_R77).

This means of information distribution makes information availability limited only to the people who came to the gathering or the party, which mostly would be from the same ethnic group (Karonese) or at least related to the family. For entrepreneurial opportunities, most land in Tangkahan belongs to a certain Karonese family, so the community that may build a business in the area is limited to people related to that family. Therefore, it seems that the job requirements and methods of information sharing mean the wider community have fewer opportunities to work in tourism in Tangkahan.

The lack of confidence about finding local employment, which also affects the money earned by the community (economic dimension), means almost three-quarters of the respondents do not want to pursue higher education and training opportunities and do not feel the increase of their status in the community. Those already involved in tourism are more likely to want to pursue higher education and/or training opportunities than those not involved (53.8% cf. 11.9%;  $p < 0.001$ ), particularly those who work as tourism industry employees and guides. Those who are involved in the tourism industry also experience increased status in the community more often than those who are not involved (51.9% cf. 6.6%;  $p < 0.001$ ). Those involved in tourism planning/decision-making were also more likely to feel that they wanted to seek further education and training opportunities (52% cf. 16.6%;  $p < 0.05$ ) and experienced increased status (56% cf. 11.1%;  $p < 0.01$ ).

Based on informal conversations, besides experiencing an improved income, respondents employed in the tourism industry felt their status increased since tourism gave them the opportunity to share experiences in front of many people and gave them a position regarded and respected by society and became better known to the wider community. The LPT members were often invited by NGOs to attend meetings or facilitated to attend the conference so that the LPT member could share their experience with other stakeholders. As one LPT member stated:

*What I got from Tangkahan (is) what I never dream about. I got more than that (money). I only finished elementary school. (Nevertheless) I have an (organisation) director as my discussion friend. I got funding to go abroad, to Australia and other places. I can talk in front of a hundred people as a key speaker. That is what I got from Tangkahan. It is more than money.*  
(NS\_R14)

Gender is another factor that influenced respondents' perceptions of increased status in the community via tourism ( $p < 0.05$ ). Very few women respondents (9.1%) felt the increased status compared with men (33.3%). Women in Karonese culture, which has a patriarchal system, have the

responsibility to take care of the home and have a lower position than men (Karonese Theolog, 2010). Women do not have much opportunity to work in tourism or to interact with outsiders, including international tourists. Therefore, they do not have much opportunity to increase their status through tourism. However, a few women work in tourism (14.7%). They work as a teacher in an English club, as administrative staff of the LPT, as cooks or waiters. Some are young unmarried women, and others are wives of tourism organisation members.

The results indicate that involvement in tourism and planning/decision-making are enabling factors in enhancing community members' intentions to pursue higher education or training opportunities and increase their status. However, culture again becomes a limiting factor for women's empowerment. Because of community values regarding gender roles in the community, women have fewer opportunities to be involved in tourism development, either in the industry or in planning/decision-making, and therefore do not seem to be as psychologically empowered as men.

### **Tourism development: Sense of disappointment in the community**

Less than a quarter of respondents in Namo Sialang felt disappointed with tourism development in their village. Gender was a factor that influenced respondents' responses to this statement ( $p < 0.05$ ), but perhaps in a way that is unexpected; more men express disappointment towards tourism development than women (30.3% cf. 14.7%). While other factors (e.g., age, education) seem not to affect respondents' perception related to the statement. Men, who have more opportunities to perceive the direct impact of tourism development, felt that tourism did not meet their expectations. For example, there were fewer job opportunities in the industry than was expected as one male respondent explained: *"Looking for work in Tangkahan is not easy. There are not many jobs (available). After all, there must be someone we know, if there is no one (we know), it will be difficult to get a job there"* (NS\_198).

In relation to a perception that tourism restricted access to natural resources ( $p < 0.01$ ), respondents not involved in tourism were more likely to feel tourism had restricted access to the natural resources (42% cf. 23.1%). Hamlet location is another factor that influenced respondents' responses on this statement ( $p < 0.001$ ), with those living in hamlets located far from the tourism hamlet being more likely to agree that they felt restricted in access to natural resources (e.g., Emplasmen, 76.9%; TM Arihta, 75%; AFD I Kawasan, 66.7%, AFD II Kawasan, 62.9%). Those likely to disagree with the statement lived in the tourism hamlet (Kwala Buluh, 75%) or hamlets close to the tourism hamlet (Kwala Gemoh, 68.8%; Kwala Unggas, 84.2%). Respondents described access to natural resources in two ways, as access to use forest resources and access to enter the tourism area such as the forest and the river. Those who live far from tourism hamlet were more likely to describe the access as access to enter the tourism area. For example, one of the reasons they felt restricted is that, in the

past, they could enter the area that is now become a tourism destination free. Since tourism activities flourished, they must pay a fee to enter the area. As one respondent who lives at AFD I Kawasan said:

*There is no direct (positive) impact from tourism development; instead, we felt restricted even only to enter the tourist since we have to pay the entrance fee...just like the visitor. We do not know who collect the fee, so we have to pay...if we know them, we do not have to pay. (NS\_R245)*

With respect to the entrance fee, the tourism organisation has a policy that community members from Namo Sialang and Sei Serdang do not have to pay the fee so long as they can prove that they are village residents. In reality, if the people collecting the entrance fee do not know the other people, the latter have to pay for the ticket.

While those who live near the tourism hamlet more likely to describe the access as access to forest resources. As one man respondent from Kwala Unggas said:

*We used to go to the forest to get firewood or find some plant for food or medicine but now; we cannot do it anymore. They do (The tourism organisation and GLNP staff) the patrol almost every week...not to mention the tourist that goes into the forest. It makes us bashful to do that again. (NS\_R55)*

### 8.3.3 Respondents' perceptions regarding social empowerment

Table 8.11 shows that tourism in the village does not seem to have increased community cohesion since only a quarter of respondents agreed that tourism made them feel more connected to their community. This lack of a sense of cohesion seems to relate to the opportunities to be involved in tourism activities since less than a quarter of respondents agreed that tourism provides ways for them to get involved in their community.

Table 8.11 Respondents' perceptions of social empowerment indicators in Namo Sialang's tourism development (n=278).

Indicators	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. Tourism in my village makes me feel more connected to my community.	24.5%,	18.3%	57.2%
2. Tourism in my village provides ways for me to get involved in my community.	24.1%,	9.7%	66.2%
3. Tourism in my village encourages me to work with others to ensure it is a success.	38.5%,	23.0%	38.5%
4. Tourism in my village increases the conflict within my community.	30.6%,	29.5%	39.9%

Factors that influence respondents' perceptions about whether tourism made them feel more connected to their community, or provides ways to get involved in their community are involvement in tourism, involvement in tourism planning, and gender.

Those involved in tourism were more likely to agree that tourism made them feel more connected to their community (80.8% cf. 11.5%;  $p. < 0.001$ ) and provided ways to be involved in their community (80.8% cf. 11.1%;  $p. < 0.001$ ), indicating that tourism is one source of social empowerment for those people. It is not surprising that, based on the main occupation ( $p. < 0.001$ ), all respondents who worked as guides and tourism business employees agreed with the statements. Those who agree explained that they felt more connected since they had to interact with each other to serve and fulfil tourists' needs. As one respondent who worked on a food stall said: *"Since I work here (food stall) I became familiar and close to many people. For example, I became familiar with people selling vegetables in the next hamlet because I often buy vegetables for my restaurant"* (NS\_R15).

Involvement in tourism planning was also a factor that influenced perceptions, with those involved more likely to agree that tourism made them feel more connected (68% cf. 20.2%;  $p. < 0.05$ ) and that tourism provided ways to be involved in the community (68% cf. 19.8%;  $p. < 0.01$ ). Therefore, those who worked as civil servants/government employees also were more likely to agree that tourism made them feel connected (61.1%) and that tourism provided ways to be involved in the community (55%) since they are often invited to tourism meetings and workshops and have involvement in tourism planning.

The results indicate that gender is a factor that influences respondents' perceptions about whether tourism made them feel more connected to their community ( $p. < 0.01$ ) and provides ways to get involved in their community ( $p. < 0.01$ ). Men were more likely to feel connected with the community (31% cf. 17.6%) and involved in their community through tourism (32.4% cf. 15.4%). This is because men have more opportunity to do activities with others outside the home, as they work outside the home to make a living and to make life's daily decisions. Women, by contrast, largely work in the domestic space (e.g., cooking, washing, cleaning, taking care of family) (Purba, 2015), which limits them from interacting with others. Only 9.1% of housewives felt that they were more connected to their community because of tourism and only 5.5% agreed that tourism provided ways for them to be involved in their community.

Another factor that influenced community perceptions about whether tourism made them feel more connected is the location of the hamlet where they lived ( $p. < 0.01$ ). The highest percentage of those who agreed were from the tourism hamlet (87.5%) and the hamlets adjacent to it (81.3%). Hamlets located farthest from tourism hamlet (i.e., Emplasmen, Teknik Kawasan, AFD I Kawasan and PKS Kawasan), had no respondents who agreed with the statement.

Family involvement in tourism development is a factor that influences respondents' perceptions about whether tourism provided ways to be involved in their community ( $p < 0.05$ ). Those who had family involved in tourism were more likely to agree with the statement than those who did not have family involved (47.8% cf. 16.3%). As one respondent said: *"I have a son who works as a ranger at Tangkahan. He often invites me to come to the events, for example, socialisation from NGO, celebration events and meeting with other stakeholders"* (NS\_R3).

However, despite the lack of a sense of connection, only a third of respondents agreed that tourism increased conflict within the community. Those involved in the tourism industry more likely to agree with the statement (59.3% cf. 23.9%;  $p < 0.05$ ), as they are the ones who know the conditions in tourism development in the area, and some did mention conflict occurring within the community caused by tourism activities, with conflict occurring between the LPT and village government, and between older and younger generations regarding tourism management in the area (see Chapter Six).

Results regarding the statement 'Tourism in my village encourages me to work with others to ensure it is a success' are quite complex. Those who agreed and disagreed with the statement have a similar percentage (38.5% cf. 38.5%). The factors that influenced perceptions are respondent involvement in tourism ( $p < 0.001$ ), involvement in tourism planning ( $P < 0.001$ ), main occupation ( $p < 0.05$ ), gender ( $p < 0.001$ ), and hamlet location ( $p < 0.05$ ). Those involved in tourism are more likely to agree to the statement (76.9% cf. 29.6%) and explained that tourism brings economic and other benefits to them, therefore they need to make sure the industry is sustained and will work together to achieve this. As one ranger said: *"We have got a profit from tourism. So we are also obliged to keep it going."*

(NS\_R82)

Respondents involved in planning were also more likely to agree with the statement (96% cf. 32.8%). They explained that they have to work together with others to ensure that tourism developments in the village ran smoothly so it might increase benefits for the community. Tourism benefits seem to be the reason to work together. Those who work in tourism, either as a guide (100%) or as a tourism industry employee (75%) are much more likely to support the idea of working together, while only a small proportion (21.2%) of plantation company employees and housewives (23.6%) agreed with the statement. Men were more likely to agree that they wanted to work with others to ensure its success than women (52.1% cf. 24.3%).

Unsurprisingly, the location where respondents lived affected their perceptions of whether tourism encourages them to work with others to ensure it is a success ( $p < 0.05$ ). Those who were more likely to agree with the statement are those living in the tourism hamlet (Kwala Buluh, 87.5%) and those living in the hamlet adjacent or close to the tourism hamlet (Kwala Gemoh, 93.8%, Kwala

Unggas, 57.9%). The smallest percentage is for those who live in the plantation hamlet that is located far from the tourism hamlet (e.g., AFD I Kawasan, 4.2%).

This result is influenced by opportunities to be involved in tourism, which means they have more opportunities to benefit from it. Respondents who disagreed with this statement explained that it was because they had no relationship with tourism since their livelihood does not depend on the industry. Therefore, they do not have to work to ensure its success. It can be argued that involvement in and benefits gained by the community can influence motivation to collaborate to create successful tourism development. In other words, the benefits perceived by the community and community involvement affects their support for tourism development (Lee, 2013). It might mean that the benefits for the community, as a whole, are not great enough for people not involved in tourism to want to see more tourism.

The results and expressions of respondents toward perceived social empowerment through tourism development showed that, in general, tourism in their village had not enhanced community cohesion and collaboration. However, increased pride toward their resources (psychological empowerment) and economic benefits seems to encourage members of the community to work together, mainly to maintain the natural resources and the safety and security in the tourist area, to ensure tourism sustainability. As one respondent remarked: *“Now, most of the villagers realise that the forest is important for tourism. Its (forest) condition is better now, maybe because some of the illegal loggers work in tourism. We rarely heard about illegal logging activities” (NS\_R69).*

To conclude, tourism development in Namo Sialang has only enhanced social empowerment for those involved in tourism and its planning. The hamlets close to the tourism centre seem to have more opportunities to be socially empowered than those who live in the peripheral areas. Community culture, as has been noted previously, is one factor that limits certain community groups, particularly women, from involvement in tourism and its planning/decision-making. However, culture, in some cases, can also become an enabling factor, since kinship could give more opportunities to be involved in the community.

#### **8.3.4 Respondents’ perceptions regarding political empowerment**

Table 8.12 shows that the political empowerment perceived by the community is quite complex. The results indicate that more than a third of respondents agreed that they could voice their opinion (39.9%) and ask questions relating to tourism development in their village (38.1%). This result is quite surprising since only 9% of respondents said that they were involved in tourism planning, and 19.4% respondents were involved in the tourism industry. The percentage indicates that some respondents

feel they have the opportunity to voice their opinion and ask questions about the tourism development process, even though they are not involved in tourism or its planning.

Table 8.12 Respondents' perceptions of political empowerment in Namo Sialang's tourism development (n=278).

Indicators	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. I have an opportunity to voice my opinions about tourism development in my village	39.9%	21.2%	38.9%
2. Tourism decision-makers would ignore my opinion about tourism development in this village	26.6%	57.9%	15.5%
3. My needs and interest are considered in the tourism development process	21.2%	48.6%	30.2%
4. I can ask questions relating to the tourism development process in the village	38.1%	29.9%	32.0%

This may reflect the 'bottom-up' nature of tourism development in this community, and the fact that community representatives (e.g., head of hamlet, informal community leaders) are invited to attend meetings related to tourism development (see Chapter Six).

However, involvement in tourism, both directly and through family, involvement in tourism planning, and gender, can also enhance community opportunities to voice opinions and ask questions about tourism development in the village. Those involved in tourism were more likely to agree that they could voice their opinion (73.1% cf. 32.3%;  $p < 0.001$ ) and ask questions about tourism development (65.4% cf. 31.9%;  $p < 0.05$ ). Those with family involved in tourism also were more likely to agree that they could ask questions related to tourism development in the village (60.9% cf. 30.6%;  $p < 0.001$ ). Those involved in planning were more likely to agree that they could ask questions related to tourism development in the village (92% cf. 32.8%;  $p < 0.05$ ).

Men were more likely than women to feel that they could voice an opinion (56.3% cf. 22.8%;  $p < 0.01$ ) and ask questions related to tourism development (54.2% cf. 21.3%;  $p < 0.01$ ). This may be influenced by cultural factors that limit women's opportunities to voice their opinions. Women are often reluctant to voice their opinion since if their opinion is not the same as (or is opposed to) men or elderly, it will cause an uncomfortable atmosphere. As one woman who works in the tourism organisation said: *"I rarely talk when at meetings. (I am) afraid of being wrong, then it (the relationship) will not be the same"* (NS\_R14).

The community culture is a factor that influences this situation. In this village, most of the tourism organisation board are Karonese (see Chapter Six), and therefore the meetings usually follow their norms. In their customs, women are rarely invited to meetings or to participate in a discussion that is dominated by men. On the other hand, if invited, women do not have much opportunity to voice their opinion, particularly in front of men. The men sometimes ask women's opinion, but the women



are afraid to voice it in case it is opposite to the men's opinion. In their perception, it is not polite to have a different opinion from the men (Purba, 2015).

While over a third of respondents agreed that they could voice an opinion and ask questions, only 15.5% of respondents felt that the decision-makers heard their opinion and only 21.2% agreed that their needs and interests were considered in tourism development. More respondents chose neutral for whether their opinion was being heard by the decision-maker (57.9%) and whether their needs and interest were considered (48.6%), which means they had not to know whether their opinions, needs, and interests are being heard and considered by the tourism decision-makers or not. Not surprisingly, involvement in tourism planning is a factor that influences respondents' perceptions that tourism decision-makers would ignore their opinions about tourism development in the village ( $p < 0.05$ ). Those involved in tourism planning were more likely to disagree with the statement than those not involved, suggesting they felt their opinions would be heard (68% cf. 10.3%). Another factor influencing respondents' perceptions is family involvement in tourism development. Those with family involved in tourism development were more likely to agree that decision-makers heard their opinions (34.8% cf. 9.1%;  $p < 0.05$ ) and their needs and interests were met (39.1% cf. 15.3%;  $p < 0.05$ ). Based on this result, it can be argued that kinship has a role in political empowerment, as does the community's gender roles. The results show that more men than women agreed with the statement (33.8% cf. 8.1%;  $p < 0.001$ ). The location of the hamlet where the respondents live again influenced perceptions about the statement ( $p < 0.05$ ), with respondents more likely to agree that their needs and interests were considered in tourism development if they lived in the tourism hamlet (Kwala Buluh, 56.3%) and the adjacent hamlets (Kwala Gemoh, 68.8%, Kwala Unggas, 42.1%). The occupations of those more likely to agree that their needs and interests are considered in tourism development were guides (100%) and civil servants/government employees (61.1%). This is not surprising since civil servants/government employees are involved in tourism planning and guides are part of the tourism organisation that manages and organises tourism development in the area (see Chapter Six).

The results suggest that tourism development in Namo Sialang could empower its community politically. Several factors that could enhance political empowerment are involvement in tourism or the planning, which have previously been noted by other scholars, and community culture. Nevertheless, culture can also become a limiting factor for empowerment, particularly for women's empowerment. In addition, the results in this context suggest another factor that could influence political empowerment, the geographical factor, which are rarely discussed in the literature. The results indicated that age, education, and ethnicity do not affect respondents' perceptions in the political dimension.

## 8.4 Conclusion

Tourism development in Namo Sialang seems to have enhanced community perceptions about empowerment outcomes in some aspects and dimensions. Through benefit-sharing, tourism could enhance economic empowerment at the community level. Tourism seems to make the community feel special about its natural resources and traditional culture, gives pride in the culture, and increases intentions to share traditional knowledge. However, tourism does not increase community cohesion since the development cannot provide more ways to be involved in the community. Even though the organisation that manages and organises tourism activities in the village is the local community organisation, because of community culture, the opportunities to be empowered in the political dimension do not reach certain community groups, such as women.

The results indicate that there is a relationship between the empowerment dimensions. For example, the lack of confidence in finding local employment (psychological empowerment) is also affected by the money earned by the community (economic empowerment) which makes the community unwilling to pursue higher education and training opportunities (psychological empowerment) and does not increase status within the community (psychological empowerment). Another example is the increased pride and self-esteem (psychological empowerment) seems to encourage the community to work together (social empowerment), particularly to maintain the natural resources and the safety and security for tourists, to ensure tourism sustainability. The intention to ensure the sustainability of the tourism destination leads to economic empowerment since the community creates new forms of employment for the community, such as becoming a security team member.

Several factors that could enhance the extent of community empowerment are: involvement in the tourism industry, access to information and knowledge. The results indicate that being personally involved or having family involved in tourism can enhance a respondent's sense of empowerment, except for political empowerment. Given the organisation of tourism in this area (bottom-up, and managed by the local community), perceptions of political empowerment was expected to be stronger. Access to information could enhance a community's sense of empowerment since it could improve community knowledge and awareness of tourism developments and planning. The study has shown that access to information can be obtained through involvement in tourism, interaction with outsiders (e.g., tourists), and education, both formal (school) and informal (e.g., training, discussions).

Though the study results indicate that involvement in tourism is an essential factor in enhancing the community empowerment, several factors limit the opportunities to be involved in tourism. Those factors are the community culture, the elite domination that could lead to asymmetry in information, and the geographical factor. Community culture and elite domination seem to limit women's or

certain ethnic group opportunities to be involved in tourism. Elite domination influences the information distribution to the wider community that leads to a lack of information in certain community groups. The hamlet distribution, which is very sporadic, influences community opportunities or intentions to be involved in tourism development.

The study indicates that most of the Namo Sialang community do not fully understand the community empowerment concept. This can be seen from the percentage of the respondents who had ever heard of the term and the definitions they gave regarding community empowerment. Factors that influence community knowledge about community empowerment are involvement in tourism, interaction with outsiders, and (formal) education.

## **Chapter 9**

# **The Extent of Community Empowerment through Tourism Development at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang**

### **9.1 Introduction**

This chapter summarises and compares the results of the survey, interview and participatory process for Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang. The chapter consists of four main sections. The first section outlines community involvement in the tourism industry and planning process in each village. The second section compares community empowerment in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang. The third section highlights the factors influencing community empowerment in tourism development in each village. This is followed by a brief conclusion.

### **9.2 Community empowerment process in tourism context**

Chapter Two has outlined that the process of community empowerment will involve a range of stakeholders. This study's results indicate that the external stakeholders involved in tourism development in the case study areas play a crucial role in community empowerment since they create the opportunity structure for the community.

The stakeholders involved in tourism development in both case studies areas are largely similar, incorporating representatives of central government, local government, NGOs, tourism organisations, and tourism industry members. Regarding the central government, the institution involved in each villages is the same, which is the Ministry of Forestry, represented by the GLNP authority, due to the fact that both villages use national park resources as their main tourist attraction. The GLNP authority supports tourism development in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang, including training for guides and other tourism industry members (e.g., accommodation owners and employees). These activities aim to increase residents' capacity as tourism actors so that the community can enhance its welfare through tourism and ultimately, reduce their pressure on national park resources, so that the community will support the GLNP in protecting these resources. In Namo Sialang, aside from training, the GLNP authority has given the local community (through LPT) the right to manage tourism activities in the Tangkahan area (see Section 6.3.1) and have conducted a community empowerment programme. However, since their main mission and responsibility is to protect the national park resources, the support and activities conducted by the GLNP manager are focused on improving community awareness related to natural resource conservation, and the material given is focused on that theme. Hence, the community empowerment programme is a tool to help the government

achieve their mission. In addition, most of the activities conducted by the GLNP at both villages are 'one-off' programmes, and there seems to be no follow-up (monitoring) activities.

Regarding the local government, there are differences between those involved in tourism development in the two villages. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, due to stakeholders' perceptions related to its status as a plantation village, there is no involvement by the village council in tourism development or management (see Section 5.4.1). By comparison, at Namo Sialang, the village council has been involved since the initial stages of tourism development (see Section 6.4.1). However, at the current time, even though the village council representative is still invited to meetings and discussions related to tourism planning or decision-making, the council's involvement in tourism development is not as intensive as it was in the initial stage. Currently, their involvement is limited to administrative matters (e.g., signing administrative letters). On the other hand, even though both villages are located in the same district (Langkat District), the tourism office of Langkat District is more involved at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang than Namo Sialang. This is because Tangkahan is not in their "priority area" or not on their list of programme plans. The activities they conduct in the village are training or seminars related to tourism, with the main participants being tourism industry members (e.g., guide, accommodation owner and employee). Their activities also involve one-off programmes with no follow-up (monitoring) activities.

In terms of the NGOs, those that are involved in tourism development in each village have quite similar mission, being focused on conservation issues. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, another NGO involved is an environmental NGO (PPLH Bahorok), while at Namo Sialang the other NGOs involved are a conservation NGO (CRU) and a tourism NGO (INDECON). The missions of environmental and conservation NGOs are quite similar, and are focused on natural resources conservation. Therefore, their activity is focused on enhancing community capacity so they can help the NGOs to conserve the natural resources. While, for the tourism NGO (INDECON), even though their goal is also to conserve resources, both natural and cultural, their main mission is to develop tourism so that the community can enhance their livelihoods or have an alternative livelihood. Therefore, their activities are focused on improving the capacity of community residents to become tourism actors.

The types of activity conducted by those NGOs are similar, such as training, workshops and seminars. Most of the programmes are also one-off and without any follow-up (monitoring) activity. However, their involvement at Namo Sialang seems more intensive than at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang. For example, INDECON supported LPT intensively for almost five years, from the initial stage of tourism development, to help the community design a master plan for tourism development and enhance community capacity to manage and organise tourism activities in their area. CRU has a representative who stays in the village. Even though their main responsibility is to take care of the

elephants, they still give support to the LPT in tourism development. The OIC also has a particular programme conducted at Namo Sialang (Tangkahan Ecotourism Development Initiative). This local initiative is one of the reasons why the NGOs are involved in tourism development at Namo Sialang.

In both villages, there is a tourism organisation to organise tourism activities in that area. Those tourism organisations have differences in their type and responsibility. The tourism organisation in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang is a tourist guide association (HPI/ITGA) with the main responsibility to take care of their members (tourist guides) and serve the tourists (see Section 5.4.3). This organisation is not very involved in tourism planning or decision-making processes, which are mostly held by the GLNP authority. While the LPT is the local community organisation that has the right to manage and organise tourism activities in the area from the GLNP manager, they also have the right to plan and make decisions related to tourism in the area (see Section 6.4.3). The activities conducted by HPI/ITGA are focused on their members, while in the LPT, some activities are intended for the wider community (e.g., English school for children, which was built in the tourism hamlet, benefit-sharing). However, the information about the school is only distributed to the nearest hamlet or those who have family or friends in the tourism hamlet. This situation means that those who attend the school are mostly from the nearest hamlet or those who have family or friends in the tourism hamlet. In relation to benefit-sharing, the LPT does not monitor the distribution of benefits.

In terms of the tourism industry, the types of tourism industry members existing in an area are similar (e.g., guides, accommodation, restaurants). However, there are differences in the numbers of tourism employees and business owners. The number of tourism industry outlets existing in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang is higher than in Namo Sialang. For example, there are almost 250 tourist guides in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang while there are only 30 guides at Namo Sialang. Similarly, there are more than 100 accommodation places in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang while there are only 12 available in Namo Sialang. Concerning ownership, there are several types of ownership for tourism businesses in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang. Some of the accommodation is owned by the local community, others are owned by non-locals, those who come from another village, even other countries, and a few are owned by the NGO. While at Namo Sialang all tourism businesses are owned by local people. Most of the tourism industry in both areas does not have particular activities related to community empowerment, other than to increase the capacity of their employees through training and seminars.

To conclude, the stakeholders involved in tourism development in each area are quite similar, and the activities and programme conducted are similar (e.g., training, workshops). The target participants of the stakeholders' programmes, particularly the GLNP authority and the NGOs, are similar, which are groups in the tourism community (e.g., guides, tourism industry employees). The mission and motivations seem to influence how stakeholders design their programmes and activities.

However, stakeholder involvement seems to more intensive at Namo Sialang than at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang. There is also a difference in the kind of support that is given to the villages by the stakeholders, particularly by the GLNP authority and NGO. In Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, the stakeholders (e.g., GLNP authority and NGOs) aim to increase community capacity to work in tourism rather than to make decisions about tourism development. While, at Namo Sialang, other than becoming tourism actors, the GLNP authority and INDECON (tourism NGO) also worked to increase the community's capacity to become decision makers. These differences are expected to achieve different results in community empowerment outcomes.

### 9.3 Community involvement in the tourism industry and tourism planning

The study results show that the proportion of respondents in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang who are involved in tourism is higher than in Namo Sialang. The history of tourism development could be a reason for this difference. Tourism development at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang has been occurring for over 40 years, whereas at Namo Sialang village tourism development is less than 17 years old, and tourism is still on a relatively small scale. However, the results of the household survey show that there are no substantial differences in the characteristics of those involved in the tourism industry (Table 9.1) in each community. In addition, tourism activities developed in both case study areas are based on natural resources, particularly wildlife. Consequently, the jobs available in the area also related to nature so often needed strength and fitness to do them.

Table 9.1 A comparison of respondents' characteristics of those involved in the tourism industry between Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang

Characteristic	Perkebunan Bukit Lawang	Namo Sialang
Age	More likely from the younger age group (<44 years old)	
Education	Come from all educational levels, including those with no qualification	
Ethnic	Dominated by one ethnic group (Karonese)	
Gender	More males than females	
Hamlet	Mostly came from the tourism hamlet or hamlets close to the tourism hamlet. Villagers from the plantation hamlet or hamlets located far from the tourism hamlet are less likely to be involved	
Origin	Local and non-locals	All local community

The comparison of the respondents' characteristics involved in tourism planning between Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang are presented in Table 9.2. This table indicates that age was not a determining factor for involvement in tourism planning since those involved in tourism planning were from all age groups. However, older people were less likely to work in the industry. This might be because of the type of tourism offered in the area. Both destinations offer nature-based tourism, where most jobs require strength. Older people are more likely not to be involved for that reason (*pers. comm. local community*).

Table 9.2 Comparison of respondents' characteristics involved in tourism planning between Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang

Characteristic	Perkebunan Bukit Lawang	Namo Sialang
Age	Came from almost all age groups (younger and older generations)	
Education	Those involved with the lowest educational level (elementary school) had the lowest percentage.	
Ethnic	Dominated by one ethnic group (Karonese)	
Gender	More males than females	
Hamlet	Mostly came from the tourism hamlet or hamlets close by. Villagers from the plantation hamlet or hamlets far from the tourism hamlet were less likely to be involved.	
Involvement in the tourism industry	Mostly those involved in the tourism industry, particularly guides.	Those not involved in tourism industry participated in the planning
Origin	Non-local and local	All locals

Education seems not to be a factor influencing community opportunities to work in tourism. The results show that in both villages, any person, including those with no qualifications, can work in tourism. However, in tourism planning, even though education does not seem to be a determining factor, it still could affect the intention to be involved in tourism planning. Education could give people an awareness about their right to be involved in the development decision-making process. This means that education could be an enabling factor for involvement in tourism planning.

Table 9.2 shows that in both villages, Karonese males dominate the tourism industry and the planning process. The ethnicity result is quite surprising, particularly for Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, since that ethnic group is the smallest in the village. The Javanese ethnicity is the largest in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, and the second largest in Namo Sialang, but it has a much lower percentage of those involved in tourism. Community culture seems to affect women (i.e., patriarchal culture) and Javanese involvement in tourism (i.e., in-group and out-group values) for those who organise tourism activities in both villages and those who initiated the tourism development at Namo Sialang are Karonese. This fact seems to influence the opportunities for other ethnic groups to participate in tourism planning.

In Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, the inhibiting factor is community norms, where those who worked in the plantation company were not allowed to open a business in tourism in Bukit Lawang (see Section 7.2.2). While, in Namo Sialang, the community values about "in-groups and out-groups" were limiting factors for the Javanese's involvement in the tourism industry. Both villages are in north Sumatra where the Batak tribe, including the Karonese, is the indigenous community. The Javanese can be said to be "non-indigenous" since they originally came from Java. This situation limits their involvement in tourism because they do not "belong" to the area (see Section 8.2.2).



Another factor that affects other ethnicities' involvement in tourism is the limited information distribution within the community. Information related to tourism (e.g., employment opportunities) is often only distributed to people who have a close relationship with the information owner (e.g., family, close friend). Since the ethnic group who dominates the tourism industry and planning process in both villages is Karonese; therefore, the information is only distributed within that ethnic group, which reduces the opportunities for another ethnic group to work in tourism.

Job opportunities in the case study villages might reduce women's opportunities to work in tourism. This is related to a combination of culture and the nature of tourism in these places (nature-based tourism). Because of culture, women are more likely to be employed in domestic jobs, while most tourism employment is non-domestic (e.g., guide, rafting guide, porter). In the community's perception, women are unlikely to work in the types of job that need strength and bravery.

The tables indicate that peripherality in each village could influence opportunities to become involved in the tourism industry and tourism planning/decision-making processes. In each village those who live close to the tourism hamlet are more likely to be involved than those who live a distance from the tourism hamlet. This indicates that geographical factors might affect community opportunities or intentions to work in tourism or be involved in decision-making processes, although it could be that residents move to these regions specifically because of a desire to work in the tourism industry.

In terms of tourism planning, the context chapters (Chapters Five and Six) reveal each case study area had a different approach to community involvement in tourism development. Perkebunan Bukit Lawang has more of a "top-down" approach, where the central government had the power in tourism planning (see Chapter Five). Tourism in Namo Sialang was developed based on a local community initiative or a "bottom-up" approach (see Chapter Six). It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that a smaller proportion of Namo Sialang respondents report being involved in tourism planning (i.e., participating in meetings or discussions about tourism development in the area) than the Perkebunan Bukit Lawang respondents. This might be related to the mechanism of the meetings, or the size of the industry. In Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, those who are invited to meetings or discussions are the tourism organisation (HPI) members, which number approximately 250 people. Aside from the HPI members, the stakeholders (e.g., GLNP manager) sometimes also invite other tourism industry members (e.g., accommodation or restaurant owners). By comparison, at Namo Sialang those invited to the meetings are representatives from the community (e.g., head of hamlets, informal leaders, community representatives). Therefore, the number who are invited to the meeting at Namo Sialang is smaller than in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang.

At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, those registered in other villages were more likely to work in tourism than the locals. At Namo Sialang, all respondents involved in tourism were local people. Tourism development history (i.e., the distraction from a natural disaster), a lack of capital and regulation seem to be factors influencing this pattern of involvement. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, many local people lost their properties due to a flash flood, and they did not have the capital to rebuild their tourism businesses. This situation leaves non-locals, who have more capital, to rebuild the tourism businesses in the village. In addition, there is no particular regulation that regulates who can or cannot be involved in tourism industry in the village. While, at Namo Sialang, there is a policy from LPT that only those registered at Namo Sialang or Sei Serdang village (the villages that initiated tourism development at Namo Sialang) can work in the tourism industry (see Section 6.3.1).

To conclude, the study's results indicate several factors that limit community opportunities to be involved in the tourism industry, tourism planning or decision-making processes. The factors are a community culture, including norms and cultural values, asymmetry of information, the geographical factors, and a lack of capital. Education, even though it does not influence the opportunity to be involved, can still enhance the intention to be involved in planning/decision-making processes since education could enhance community awareness about their right to be involved in development.

#### **9.4 A comparison of community empowerment between Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang**

Both case study areas have a different approach to the tourism planning process (top-down or bottom-up). The literature has suggested that a bottom-up approach to tourism planning facilitates community empowered outcomes (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Byrd, 2007; CDX & Changes, 2008; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Garrod, 2003; He et al., 2008; Li & Hunter, 2015; Moscardo et al., 2013; Park & Kim, 2016; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017; Scheyvens, 1999; Straaten, 2000; Thomas & Middleton, 2003; Timothy, 2007; Tosun, 2000; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). This section will compare the extent of community empowerment in both villages and the relationship between their different community empowerment dimensions.

##### **9.4.1 The extent of community empowerment in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang and Namo Sialang**

Using Scheyven's (1999) multi-dimensional empowerment framework, this study has explored the extent to which tourism has empowered two rural communities in Indonesia. Scheyvens' (1999) framework was considered appropriate since it could be applied in developing countries that use natural resources (e.g., a national park) as a tourism destination (Scheyvens, 1999). In general, the results show that respondents from Namo Sialang have a higher sense of community empowerment as a result of tourism development in all community empowerment dimensions (Table 9.3).

Table 9.3 Comparison of the community sense of empowerment at both villages

Community empowerment dimension	Sense of empowerment	Influential factors
Economic empowerment	<b>Individual Level</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourism in both villages did not help people pay their bills and enhance their choices to spend their money.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Involvement in tourism</li> <li>• Payment system</li> <li>• Type of job available (low payment and lower-skilled jobs)</li> </ul>
	<b>Community Level</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourism in both villages could benefit the wider community.</li> <li>• Only tourism at Namo Sialang had improved public facilities.</li> <li>• Tourism profits and financial benefits in both villages gained only by certain people or local elite.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Involvement in tourism</li> <li>• Benefit-sharing mechanism</li> <li>• Geographical factors</li> <li>• Payment system</li> <li>• Elite domination</li> <li>• Network with outsiders</li> <li>• Skills and knowledge</li> </ul>
Psychological empowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In both villages, tourism can increase community pride toward their resources, particularly natural resources.</li> <li>• Tourism development only at Namo Sialang made the majority of the community feel proud of their culture.</li> <li>• Tourism development could encourage the community to share traditional knowledge.</li> <li>• Tourism development in both villages did not increase community confidence in finding local employment.</li> <li>• At both villages, the community did not have much interest in seeking further education or training opportunities.</li> <li>• Tourism did not enhance community status.</li> <li>• Tourism development seems to make more people at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang disappointed than at Namo Sialang.</li> <li>• Tourism did not limit most community access to natural resources.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Involvement in tourism</li> <li>• Appreciation from outsiders</li> <li>• Types of tourism attraction</li> <li>• Additional activities offered</li> <li>• Community way of life</li> <li>• Knowledge</li> <li>• Asymmetry of information distribution (access to information)</li> <li>• Lack of skills and networks</li> <li>• Kinship</li> <li>• Mechanism of recruitment</li> <li>• Types of employment available</li> <li>• Gender roles in the community</li> <li>• Mismatch of training material</li> <li>• Lack of trust in stakeholders</li> <li>• Interactions and connections with outsiders</li> <li>• Respect from the wider community</li> <li>• Lack of economic benefit</li> <li>• Negative impacts</li> <li>• Dependency on natural resources</li> <li>• Regulations</li> <li>• Lack of monitoring and law enforcement</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourism at both villages could not provide ways for people to be involved in their community.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Activities goal</li> <li>• Culture: gender roles in the community, kinship</li> <li>• Interaction goals</li> </ul>

Community empowerment dimension	Sense of empowerment	Influential factors
<b>Social empowerment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourism at both villages did not enhance community cohesion.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collective goals and vision</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourism did not encourage the Perkebunan Bukit Lawang community to work together to make tourism development a success. More people did not care about tourism development. At Namo Sialang, respondents wanting to collaborate to ensure the success of tourism development were split evenly.</li> <li>• At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, more people felt an increase in conflicts within the community. At Namo Sialang, most of the community did not realise that conflicts occurred from tourism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monopolised</li> <li>• Competition between tourism businesses</li> <li>• Knowledge</li> <li>• Lack of economic benefit</li> <li>• Lack of a sense of ownership or connection with tourism development</li> <li>• Jealousy</li> <li>• Community behaviour changes</li> </ul>
<b>Political dimension</b>	<b>Individual level</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourism decision makers in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang gave the opportunity to voice opinions and ask questions but these were limited to those involved in tourism. At Namo Sialang, those not involved in tourism had this opportunity.</li> <li>• Males are more likely to feel that they could voice their opinion and ask questions.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Involvement in tourism</li> <li>• Mechanisms for meeting</li> <li>• Gender roles in the community (culture)</li> </ul>
	<b>Community Level</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some of the Perkebunan Bukit Lawang community did not want to participate in tourism planning.</li> <li>• Most of the communities at both villages did not know whether their opinions, needs, and interests were heard.</li> <li>• Wider community needs and interests are less likely to be considered.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of engagement or sense of ownership</li> <li>• Lack of transparency</li> <li>• Asymmetry of information distribution</li> </ul>

In terms of **economic empowerment** at both villages, tourism could empower the community in the economic dimension, particularly at the community level. The proportion of Perkebunan Bukit Lawang respondents who felt that their income from tourism helped pay their bills and gave them choices about how to spend their money was higher than at Namo Sialang (see Section 7.3.1 and 8.3.1). This might be related to the larger number of the community involved in the tourism industry at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang compared to Namo Sialang (see Section 7.2.2 and 8.2.2).

This result indicates that involvement in the tourism industry can enhance respondents' perception about economic empowerment, particularly at the individual level. However, in both villages, the perceptions related to profits from tourism were similar, with the majority of respondents feeling that tourism profits mostly go to specific people or groups (e.g., local elite, government agencies)

and that only a few people or families gained financial benefits from tourism developments in their village.

Respondent in both villages felt that tourism could bring benefits to the wider community. For Perkebunan Bukit Lawang residents, however, the benefits to the community were less clear. The survey indicated that only 20.2% agreed that tourism supports public facility development in their village. There has been some improvement in public facilities (e.g., road, mosque), but the funds have come from the plantation company or the central government (i.e., Ministry for Public Works and Human Settlements) (*pers. comm. local residents and village government*). While at Namo Sialang, those who agreed that tourism supports the improvement of facilities is higher than in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang (45%) where there is more evidence of improved public facilities from tourism (e.g., the English Club for children, road bridges). The results indicate that benefit-sharing seems to increase a community's sense of empowerment, particularly at the community level.

**In terms of the psychological dimensions,** Table 9.3 shows that the Namo Sialang community felt more psychologically empowered than the Perkebunan Bukit Lawang community. In both villages, tourism development seems to make the community feel special because people travel to see the resources, particularly natural resources, and this encourages them to share their traditional knowledge. Namo Sialang has a higher percentage of those who feel proud of their culture and intend to seek further education and training opportunities (81.3% cf. 22.8% and 19.8% cf. 9.5%).

Namo Sialang had more respondents than Perkebunan Bukit Lawang who felt that tourism restricted their access to natural resources (2.5% cf. 0.4% and 38.5% cf. 1.2%, respectively). Several reasons explaining this result are the history of tourism in the region and the location of hamlets. Perkebunan Bukit Lawang is a plantation village in which most of the community members are working for the plantation company; therefore, before tourism development, most of the community do not depend on forest resources for their livelihoods. While, in Namo Sialang, before tourism development, community members depended on the forest resources for their livelihoods. Therefore, after tourism development, some of the community members who used to go to the forest to utilise the natural resources felt more restricted since the arrival of tourists inhibited these activities. In relation to hamlet location, those who feel restricted are those who live in hamlets located far from the tourist area. They feel restricted because, after tourism development, they need to pay an entrance fee if they want to enter tourism destinations.

Tourism development at both villages did not increase community confidence in finding local employment, nor did it increase community intentions to seek further education and training opportunities. The lack of confidence in finding local employment may be caused by information distribution related to job opportunities and the recruitment mechanisms, which seemed to be

influenced by the communities' culture. In both communities, information is distributed to the people who have close relationships with the ones who become the source of information; for example, friends or family members. Therefore, asymmetry in information limits the wider community from receiving important information related to tourism. While, with the recruitment mechanism, those who want to recruit new employees usually prioritise their family and closest friends, which further limits the opportunities for those who do not have family or friends working in the tourism industry.

In regard to **social empowerment**, tourism development at neither villages seemed to increase community cohesion since it could not provide a way for individuals to be more involved in their communities. Both communities are collective communities that already have strong relationships between community members. Each community group (i.e., plantation community groups, ordinary community, and tourism community) already has good connections between the members. Since the opportunity to become involved in tourism activities only occurred in, and for, tourism community members, therefore, the other community group members did not feel an increase in cohesion.

As reported by Maruyama et al. (2016a, 2016b), social empowerment can occur when community members are involved with each other through tourism-related events and have the need to collaborate to make tourism businesses successful. The findings revealed that the Namo Sialang respondents showed more evidence of social empowerment than the Perkebunan Bukit Lawang respondents did. However, the percentage of respondents in Namo Sialang who felt that tourism made them feel connected to their community and provided ways to get involved in their community is higher than for Perkebunan Bukit Lawang (24.5% cf. 14.4% and 24.1% cf. 16.3%). Namo Sialang has a higher percentage of respondents who want to work with others to ensure tourism's success than in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang (38.5% cf. 22.4%). However, Perkebunan Bukit Lawang has a higher percentage of respondents who feel that increased conflicts had resulted from tourism development than respondents in Namo Sialang (44.9% cf. 30.6%).

In social empowerment, the economic benefits can be a motivation for collaboration. Informal conversations with several respondents indicated that the community, particularly the plantation hamlet community, felt that it did not get any benefit from tourism. Therefore, they did not have any interest in working together to ensure tourism's success. In addition, the lack of dependency on tourism discouraged people, particularly who works at Plantation Company, from working together to ensure its success. For example, at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, more people did not care about tourism development since they did not work in the tourism industry, or their livelihoods and/or daily activities did not relate to tourism.

**Regarding political empowerment**, the results show that Namo Sialang respondents felt more politically empowered than the Perkebunan Bukit Lawang respondents. The nature of tourism development is a factor that influences this outcome. There were more people at Namo Sialang who felt that they could voice their opinions about tourism development in their village than in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang (39.9% cf. 24%, respectively), whereas 21.2% cf. 6.5% respectively, felt that their needs and interests were considered in tourism development and they could ask questions about tourism development in their village (38.1% cf. 22.8%, respectively). Perkebunan Bukit Lawang has more respondents who felt that decision makers ignored their opinions than at Namo Sialang (21.2% cf. 6.5%, respectively). Tourism development at Namo Sialang gave opportunities for more people, including those not involved in the tourism industry, to voice their opinions and ask questions related to tourism developments in their area. The LPT, as the decision-maker in tourism development, often invited community representatives to attend meetings and/or discussions. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, the opportunity seems limited to those involved in the tourism industry, since the decision-maker only invited HPI members or other tourism actors to attend meetings.

#### **9.4.2 The relationships between the community empowerment dimensions**

As discussed in Section 2.3.1, in some cases there is a connection between the empowerment dimensions, where one dimension could be more prominent than the others (Boley et al., 2015; Boley & McGehee, 2014; Timothy, 1999). However, most studies have been conducted in developed countries. Therefore, there is a need to identify the connections between the community empowerment dimensions in Indonesia (as a developing country).

Table 9.3 shows some evidence about the relationships between the community empowerment dimensions. Economic empowerment seems related to psychological and social empowerment. For example, at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, the income from tourism (economic empowerment) encourages and allows community members to send their children to pursue higher levels of education (psychological empowerment). This result is similar to Botswana, where several women deferred their formal educational opportunities to their offspring, thereby empowering the next generation of both girls and boys (Moswete & Lacey, 2015). Improvements in the communities' quality of life and the ability to provide education for their children suggests an "enhanced agency" in empowerment (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). These quantitative results show that even though the community is not economically empowered, its members still feel proud of their resources and demonstrate a relatively high level of psychological empowerment, even for those not involved in tourism.

The study's findings show some evidence, particularly at Namo Sialang, that psychological empowerment is related to social and economic empowerment. Increased pride and self-esteem

seemed to encourage the community to work together to ensure success, particularly in maintaining natural resources and safety and security in the area for tourists. These intentions made the tourism organisation (LPT) create a new form of employment for locals, a security team. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, there is no evidence for this connection. In Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, even though most of the respondents also feel special because of their natural resources, there is no evidence to ensure the ongoing success of tourism. For example, there is no collaboration to ensure the sustainability of their tourism resources (e.g., tourism area, river, orangutan). This can be seen from the river conditions and the tourism area that have become crowded and this resulted in negative environmental impacts (see Section 5.3.2).

Boley et al. (2014) argue that the economic dimension could be related to political empowerment, but this research does not show any evidence of such a relationship. Arguably, political empowerment in both villages is more likely influenced by the context or culture of the community; the factors that influence political empowerment are the norms and regulations applied in the area.

## **9.5 Factors influencing community empowerment in tourism development in Indonesia**

This section will discuss the enabling and limiting factors in achieving community empowerment.

### **9.5.1 Enabling factors for community empowerment in tourism development**

The results suggest a range of factors could enhance the community empowerment outcomes resulting from tourism development. Those factors are involvement in tourism development, either in the industry or in the planning/decision-making, and knowledge. Involvement in tourism development provides more opportunities for the community to receive empowerment resources (e.g., information, knowledge) through meetings and interactions with other stakeholders (e.g., tourists, NGOs, government).

**Social interaction** with outsiders (e.g., tourists and NGOs who came to the area) enables community members to receive more resources from outsiders, such as information and knowledge, and this increases their psychological empowerment, e.g., increased community pride about their resources and sharing traditional knowledge. These interactions could also enhance these communities' opportunities to build networks with outsiders. As suggested by Cole (2007), being able to connect with outsiders can also bring status and prestige to a community. Networking is important in increasing opportunities to gain more profits from tourism. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, other people, aside from guides, achieved higher profits from those with connections or networks with foreigners. At Namo Sialang, tourism profits mostly go to the tourism organisation (LPT) members who have networks with outside stakeholders (e.g., NGOs and central government). By having a



network, community members have more opportunities to promote their businesses to the wider world through those networks and gain more skills and knowledge to enhance their opportunities to benefit from tourism development.

**Skills and knowledge**, through formal or informal education (e.g., training), are considered crucial factors for community empowerment in all dimensions (economic, psychological, social and political), both at the individual and community level. For example, in the economic dimension at an individual level, skills and knowledge of English could allow people to achieve more profits from tourism (e.g., at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, a guide who can speak English charges higher fees than those who cannot speak English). At the community level, knowledge and education can give people greater access to information and, at times, this improves their capacity to see alternative options (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005) and/or intangible benefits from tourism (Scheyvens, 1999). Knowledge can also encourage people to work together to ensure success (social empowerment) since they are more aware of the potential benefits that can be created by tourism. In regards to political empowerment, knowledge enhances people's awareness of their right to participate in the development process and gives them the skills to do so.

### **9.5.2 Limiting factors of community empowerment in tourism development**

The results suggest that several factors can limit community empowerment, including the geographical factors related to their peripheral (outlying) locations, community culture, elite domination, type of occupations available in the area, and lack of financial capital. The **geographical factor** (peripheral characteristic) affects the wider community from gaining benefits from tourism or the distribution of tourism benefits to the wider community (see Knight and Cottrell (2016). Both villages are relatively peripheral (distant) from the capital city of the province, and within them they have a wide geographic spread of hamlets (see Chapters Five and Six), which means some hamlets are located closer to the core (the tourism centre) and others are more isolated. The results show that those who live in the hamlets nearest the tourism centre feel more benefit from tourism, both in terms of personal and community-wide benefits (see Chapters Seven and Eight). These findings indicate that residents who are geographically peripheral to a tourism centre are less likely to feel empowered by it.

**Community culture** is a factor that limits community empowerment over all its dimensions. For example, kinship can limit social empowerment since the community is more likely to have individualistic thinking or is aimed at preserving the interests of themselves and their near kin, instead of the wider community (Dolezal, 2015). In addition, community perceptions related to gender roles in the community often limit women's opportunities to be involved and interact with others since their primary role is inside the home. The results suggest that community culture can

affect the way a community distributes information related to tourism, with some village residents receiving more than others. As suggested by Kosack and Fung (2014), a lack of transparency with, or the provision of, information to the public can inhibit empowerment, for example, political empowerment.

Elite domination or 'power over' by the tourism organisation seems to limit the wider community's involvement in tourism and benefits from tourism development. These results align with Knight and Cottrell (2016). In addition, although the previous section has indicated that benefit-sharing could enhance community empowerment, particularly in the economic dimension, the findings also indicate that elite domination could affect unequal benefit-sharing from tourism development. A lack of a mechanism for the fair distribution of the local benefits of tourism often leads to these benefits being received by certain people – the community's elite (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; He et al., 2008; Lapeyre, 2010).

At both villages, the community culture also seems to limit certain community groups (e.g., women and certain ethnicities) from involvement in tourism. This condition limits their opportunities to become economically empowered by tourism development. This result is similar to Dolezal's (2015) finding that community culture in Bali, Indonesia, limits certain community groups from involvement in tourism; and Cole's (2007) study in Ngadha, Indonesia, who identified that culture could inhibit women's empowerment in tourism development.

The results indicate that the type of jobs available can influence the communities' perceptions of community empowerment resulting from tourism. The job opportunities in both villages are mostly low skilled jobs with a low salary, which limits the communities' opportunities to gain greater empowerment, particularly at the individual level. This result is similar to those of Walpole and Goodwin (2000) and Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995) who found that a local community was more likely to be filled with low skilled, low paying jobs, which limited their opportunities to gain more profits from tourism. The available occupation types related to tourism might also be related to the type of tourism in the area. Since this tourism is based on natural attractions, the jobs available are related to natural resources, which sometimes favour men over women.

Another factor that could inhibit community empowerment is a lack of engagement or sense of connection with tourism development which could discourage people from becoming involved in tourism planning. The study's results show that some people in both villages, particularly women and those who work as a plantation company employee, do not want to participate in tourism planning since they do not feel engaged or have a connection with tourism development. As argued by Steiner and Farmer (2017), engagement with a development programme is the first step in increasing community participation and enhancing opportunities to become empowered.

The literature noted that a lack of capital often inhibits community empowerment (Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Fuller et al., 2005; Goodwin, 2002; Kiss, 2004; Klimmek, 2013; Ramos & Prideaux, 2014; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). This study reinforces that suggestion. The results suggest that a lack of capital amongst local residents provided non-locals with more opportunity to build tourism businesses. This could limit local residents' opportunity to be involved in tourism. Another factor inhibiting the community from gaining benefits from tourism is the lack of supporting regulations. For example, a lack of regulations related to 'plantation villages' caused the wider community to not to obtain benefit-sharing from tourism revenue.

In implementing the community empowerment concept in tourism development, particularly in a developing country context, involvement in tourism or planning/decision-making and through knowledge sharing are important for achieving community empowerment from tourism. There are also several challenges that influence a community's opportunity to be involved in tourism or to access knowledge. These challenges are the geographical aspect and community culture. This study indicates that geographical factors, particularly characteristics of peripherality, both in a geographical and political sense, could limit the community's opportunity to be involved in tourism development or to access empowerment resources that are important in improving their knowledge. The community culture seems to affect the opportunities for certain community groups, including women, to be involved in tourism development or to access empowerment resources.

## **9.6 Conclusions**

The results indicate that the differences in tourism planning (Chapters Five and Six) have not resulted in a significant difference in empowerment outcomes. Namo Sialang (with a bottom-up approach) shows somewhat more empowerment in the improvement of public facilities. This included the community's intention to find education/training opportunities; the intention to work with others to ensure the success of tourism; and to encourage more people to voice their opinions and ask questions related to tourism development.

Several enabling factors for community empowerment were identified in this study, such as involvement in tourism development, either in the industry or in tourism planning/decision-making, and acquisition of skills and knowledge (through formal and non-formal education). These factors are related to these communities' access to empowerment resources, e.g., information related to tourism. However, the study also indicates that two key challenges affect the community's opportunities or intentions to be involved in tourism developments, either in the industry or in the decision-making: namely, 1) the geographical factor, particularly the peripheral location characteristic, and 2) community culture.

## Chapter 10

### Discussion

#### 10.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the main findings of this study. There is significant evidence in the literature that a bottom-up approach to tourism planning results in greater community empowerment (Ayscue et al., 2016; Boley et al., 2017; Park & Kim, 2014, 2016). However, this is not fully revealed in the current research. The case study villages in this study have taken different approaches to tourism planning (one is top-down, the other is bottom-up). However, these factors seem to have had only a limited impact on community empowerment. This chapter explores some explanations for this result in light of the literature.

The chapter consists of three main sections. The first section discusses the planning approach to tourism development based on community initiatives (bottom-up approach) with that of a government initiative (top-down approach) and the empowerment outcomes that result. It is argued that tourism planning and stakeholder responses to other events, including a natural disaster, are influenced by the communities' peripherality, which has affected access to empowerment resources (e.g., tourist markets and information) and access to power (government challenges). This is discussed in the second section of the chapter. The third section discusses how the culture of communities, in particular their values and norms, has affected community empowerment, through the influence culture has had on opportunities and willingness to be involved in planning. It also includes opportunities to access tourism benefits, access to information, and how cultural norms have marginalised some sectors in the community (e.g., women and plantation community groups) from tourism and its potential benefits.

#### 10.2 Community empowerment: does a bottom-up approach matter?

The case study areas have experienced different approaches to local community involvement in the tourism planning process. The literature suggests strongly that local community involvement in tourism planning is an important tool to achieve community empowerment, and that a 'bottom-up' approach to development facilitates this outcome (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Byrd, 2007; CDX & Changes, 2008; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Garrod, 2003; He et al., 2008; Li & Hunter, 2015; Moscardo et al., 2013; Park & Kim, 2016; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017; Scheyvens, 1999; Straaten, 2000; Thomas & Middleton, 2003; Timothy, 2007; Tosun, 2000; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). However, as outlined in Chapters Seven and Eight, this study indicates that despite the different approaches to tourism planning, in particular, community involvement in the planning and outcomes of tourism

development in Namo Sialang, there is little difference in most measures of community empowerment between the villages studied. Tourism development at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang has been largely directed by top-down decision-making whereas, at Namo Sialang, tourism has been developed through a 'bottom-up approach'. This difference is apparent in the organisation of tourism activities in each village. The tourism organisation in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang (i.e., tourist guide association/HPI/ITGA) does not have the authority to make decisions about tourism development, except when related to the development of tourism products. The power over tourism development is still held by central government via GLNP authority, and they involve HPI in a form of consultation in planning best described as 'tokenistic involvement' (Timothy, 2007). The wider community's involvement in GLNP planning is 'imposed development' (Timothy, 2007). The tourism stakeholders involved in tourism development (i.e., central government representatives), rarely invite the village council or wider community to meetings related to tourism or consult the wider community about tourism planning. Their perspective is that, as a plantation village, this community is not entitled to be involved in tourism development (see Chapter Five). The GLNP only invites HPI representatives, the tourism office of Langkat District, and NGOs to attend the meeting.

By comparison, the tourism organisation in Namo Sialang – the LPT – as representative of the local community has legal rights from the central government to manage tourism development in the area. This enables LPT to initiate and authorise its own development goals and programmes (see Chapter Six). This involvement is similar to the highest level of Timothy (2007) degrees of empowerment. However, for the wider community, its involvement in tourism planning is at the level of 'tokenistic involvement' (Timothy, 2007). The stakeholders (e.g., LPT board), who plan the tourism development programme in the area, usually invite LPT members, the village government and community representatives to meetings or ask for their opinions about the programme.

With the different degrees of community involvement in tourism development planning, it might be expected that each village will report different levels of community empowerment outcomes. Namo Sialang might be expected to have a higher level of community empowerment outcome since its tourism development was based on a bottom-up approach; an assumption supported in most of the literature (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Byrd, 2007; CDX & Changes, 2008; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Garrod, 2003; He et al., 2008; Li & Hunter, 2015; Moscardo et al., 2013; Park & Kim, 2016; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017; Scheyvens, 1999; Straaten, 2000; Thomas & Middleton, 2003; Timothy, 2007; Tosun, 2000; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). However, despite the differences in tourism planning, the results did not show substantial differences in community empowerment between the villages. Visible differences in the community's sense of empowerment are apparent with only a few indicators. For example, at Namo Sialang, there is evidence of improved public facilities (economic empowerment), and more people feeling proud of their culture (psychological empowerment).

Perhaps, as an indication of the community's involvement in the process of tourism development, a larger proportion of people not involved in tourism feel that they have an opportunity to voice their opinions and ask questions. This, therefore, may suggest a relationship between empowerment as a process and as a political empowerment outcome.

The literature indicates that a bottom-up approach should enable excluded sections of communities, whose voices are ignored or not heard, to have a voice and promote a profound change in socio-economic-political institutions beneficial to the marginalised (Narayanan, 2003). There are also suggestions that tourism development can empower marginalised community groups, including women (Doran, 2016; Ferguson, 2011; Moswete & Lacey, 2015). This study indicates that, in this context, tourism development and the bottom-up approach have not fulfilled that aim or resulted in equal opportunities for all community groups, particularly those that are often marginalised, such as women, to be empowered through tourism development. This is particularly interesting, given that some respondents specifically mentioned empowerment as something to benefit women. The literature has suggested that tourism is often viewed as an important tool for the empowerment of women, through their involvement in the tourism industry and planning (Brookes & Nwosu, 2014; Guinée, 2014; Jayaweera, 1997; Moswete & Lacey, 2015; Movono & Dahles, 2017; Pleno, 2006; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995; Yahaya & Yahaya, 2014). Nevertheless, women often experience fewer opportunities to be involved in the process and to achieve the expected outcome (Annes & Wright, 2015; Iwuagwu et al., 2015; Moswete & Lacey, 2015). The results for each village showed evidence of inequity in the empowerment processes when empowering outcomes between community groups. For example, even in Namo Sialang, where tourism planning has been managed by the community, women and certain ethnic groups are less involved in this planning process, thereby limiting their opportunities for empowerment outcomes (see Chapters Seven and Eight).

It is argued here that unbalanced power structures within communities resulting from cultural norms and values inhibits the achievement of community empowerment (Dolezal, 2015; Narayanan, 2003). In both villages, the community has a patriarchal system, which results in men being seen as the communities' 'natural' decision-makers. Each community also consists of multi-ethnic groups with different cultural norms and power structures (see Chapters Five and Six).

### **10.3 Community empowerment in tourism development**

Tourism development can result in four frameworks of power in empowerment, namely, 'power over', 'power to' (agency), 'power with' (collectively) and 'power within' (self-awareness) (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). This study revealed, however, that the process of generative empowerment (e.g., agency, collectively, and self-awareness), occurs only among community members involved in tourism, either personally or through family links. The wider community, including disadvantaged

groups (e.g., women), experience the non-generative process (i.e., power over), which means the empowerment of one stakeholder (e.g., tourism organisation, one ethnic group) could cause disempowerment of another group (e.g., other ethnic groups).

In each village, '**Power to**', or agency, occurs among residents who are able to increase their incomes, which gives them some choices in how to spend their money, such as having the opportunity to send their children to pursue higher education (see Chapters Seven and Eight). This increase in agency mostly occurs as a result of tourism revenue gained from tourism activities (economic empowerment) but is limited to those involved in tourism in each village. This situation occurs because the stakeholders (e.g., GLNP national park, NGOs) focus their programmes on tourism community groups (e.g., guides, tourism industry employees) and had less concern for other groups (e.g., women, the plantation community) (see Sections 5.4. and 6.5.); which, furthermore, caused the enhancement of 'power over' certain community groups.

In both villages, there is evidence that tourism development may increase the **power over** (domination) by certain local stakeholders, such as HPI/ITGA and LPT (see Section 10.3.3). Based on Lukes (1974) as cited in Simons and Groot (2015), the power over in both villages deals with access to, and control over, resources on which others depend (e.g., information). This power also makes people conform to their disadvantaged positions via values and norms (e.g., for women, certain ethnic groups, and the plantation community group). This 'power over' occurred since the outside stakeholders (e.g., the GLNP authority, NGOs) focused their programmes (e.g., training) only for guides or tourism industry members. In terms of information, the GLNP authority and NGOs also distribute this power mainly to the tourism organisations (i.e., HPI/ITGA, LPT). As a consequence, those who have power come from certain ethnic groups (Karonese), families, and from certain community cultures, and this has caused certain groups to become marginalised in the process (see Section 10.5). In Namo Sialang, there is another type of 'power over' involved, which is control over the decision-making processes and agendas. The LPT comprises stakeholders that have control over the decision-making process since it has the right to manage and organise tourism activities in the national park area given by GLNP authority (see Section 6.3.1). In addition, tourism NGOs (INDECON) only focused their activities on enhancing capacity in the planning and decision-making process (in the earlier stages of tourism development) on the LPT leader and members (see Section 6.4.3).

For **power with** (collectivity), the evidence of this is apparent only at Namo Sialang where improvements in public facilities have occurred (e.g., roads and bridges to improve community access to the tourism destination and the development of an English language school for children) (see Chapter Eight). The results indicate that the tourism organisation, LPT, acted collectively to empower others and support them to fulfil tourist needs. For example, by improving the

community's ability in English the community could become more involved in tourism, and the tourism organisation, therefore, has a workforce to guide tourists. However, even in this village, the benefits occur only in certain hamlets or areas near the tourism zone, or amongst families already involved in tourism. This situation suggests that peripherality is an important factor in the community empowerment process. This situation is also in accordance with the literature that states that economic developments are more likely to happen in the core area (tourism zone and locations close the core zone) (Blackman et al., 2004; Brown & Hall, 2000; Fonseca & Ramos, 2012; Moscardo, 2005; Nash & Martin, 2003; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000) (see Section 10.4).

For **power within** (self-awareness), evidence can be seen in the increased confidence of Perkebunan Bukit Lawang community members without formal education qualifications to find a job in tourism (see Chapter Seven). In Namo Sialang, self-awareness was particularly felt by the community members involved with the tourism organisation. Their confidence increased as the stakeholder (e.g., INDECON) often asked them to share their experience in developing tourism there (based on a local community initiative) with other stakeholders, including international institutions (see Chapter Eight). For the wider community, the power within can be seen from the increased pride of the community due to many tourists coming to see their resources (see Chapter Seven and Eight).

Empowerment is about opportunity structures and agency (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005). The study's results indicate that external stakeholders involved in tourism development in the case study areas play a crucial role in community empowerment since they create the opportunity structure for the community. For example, the central government could create opportunity structures through policies or regulations that support community empowerment, and the community could also create opportunity structures through their culture. NGOs can create opportunity structures to empower the community by designing programmes that consider the needs and interest of the wider community that includes all community groups. In other words, community empowerment is not just about communities changing as they 'become empowered,' but also about stakeholders changing the way they work to take more 'empowering approaches'.

In essence, despite involvement of the community in planning and in the history of tourism development, other factors also influence opportunities in this Indonesian context to enhance community members' perception of empowerment through tourism development. Factors that might play an important role in community empowerment and shape community empowerment outcomes are the geographical factor of peripherality and the cultural construct of Indonesian community life. Peripherality is related to culture since the literature suggests that isolated communities are often resistant to change (Krebs & Holley, 2002). The following sections will discuss



these factors and their influence on community empowerment and the outcomes observed in the case study communities.

#### **10.4 Peripheral area and empowerment: Blessing or curse?**

Indonesia's geography and political system mean that some parts of the country are both politically and geographically peripheral. Both study villages have characteristics of being 'peripheral areas', meaning they have a very distant relationship with the core centres (Brown & Hall, 2000; Nash & Martin, 2003). In a geographical sense, both villages are located in quite isolated areas from population centres or the capital city and with limited accessibility (see Chapters Five and Six). The political setting is a 'village', the smallest administrative governance unit in Indonesia, meaning it also has limited power or financial resources (see Chapter Four). The study's results indicate that the peripherality of the setting could affect community empowerment from tourism development. Although this peripheral characteristic has some advantages (e.g., the uniqueness of the resources as a tourism attraction and low development costs), there are a number of disadvantages (e.g., economic marginalisation, lack access to market). As noted by Dodds et al. (2016), community remoteness can be both a blessing and a curse.

In addition, in terms of tourism development, peripheral characteristics appear under village conditions since the hamlets also have a core-periphery relationship with each other (Nash & Martin, 2003). Both villages have a 'sporadic' hamlet distribution with considerable distances between hamlets, and with tourism activities that focus only on one hamlet (see Chapters Five and Six). This hamlet distribution pattern makes a certain hamlet (the tourism hamlet) the core and others peripheral because this is the 'main gateway' for tourism activities or the arrival point for tourists, particularly international tourists. The findings show significant differences between the hamlets' involvement in tourism employment, tourism planning, and perceptions about empowerment outcomes (see Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight).

##### **10.4.1 Tourism attractions**

As stated above, being in a peripheral location can be a blessing for tourism development (Brown & Hall, 2000; Dodds et al., 2016). Each village is located adjacent to a national park that has unique natural resources (i.e., orangutan). Despite the area's inaccessibility, the wildlife attracts many people, particularly international tourists, to visit (see Chapters Five and Six). Tourist visits, especially international tourists, lead to the enhancement the communities' sense of empowerment, particularly in the economic and psychological dimensions. For economic empowerment, the presence in each village of international tourists who are willing to pay for local goods and experiences, enables those community members involved in tourism to meet their daily needs and often generate much-needed household income. The income derived from tourism presents them

with choices about how and where they spend their money and can stimulate local economic activity (see Chapters Seven and Eight). This result corresponds with scholars' suggestions that tourism can be a tool for economic development in peripheral regions through jobs and economic expenditure (Lane & Kastenholz, 2015; Liu, 2006; McGehee et al., 2015; Moscardo, 2005; Nash & Martin, 2003; Wilson et al., 2001).

In terms of psychological empowerment, the presence of tourists in these isolated villages creates a sense of community pride because they realise that what it has to offer is unique and valued. The results also reveal that most respondents in each village feel special connections to their natural and cultural resources, in part because of the appreciation outsiders' show for these resources (see Chapters Seven and Eight). These findings contribute to a better understanding of tourism's impact on community empowerment for peripheral areas; a topic that has received limited attention from scholars (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017; Lane & Kastenholz, 2015).

The uniqueness of the natural resources in these communities has attracted many NGOs to become involved in supporting tourism development in the area. The presence of outside stakeholder support and involvement means that both villages already have one factor towards achieving successful tourism development and the potential for community empowerment. The literature indicates that support and participation by stakeholders, networks, and connections outside the community, are some of the factors associated with success (Blackman et al., 2004; Moscardo, 2005; Wilson et al., 2001). The stakeholders provide resources, such as funding, to improve public facilities or training to enhance the communities' tourism capacity, and to support tourism development and community empowerment (see Chapters Five and Six). However, the results indicate that external stakeholder support has had a limited impact on the sense of empowerment in either village. In particular, in the area of training, often seen as an important element of NGO involvement, many respondents from Perkebunan Bukit Lawang said that they did not want to attend training sessions as they did not improve their knowledge (see Chapter Seven). In addition, NGOs, in general, are more interested in preserving the natural resources than in developing the community resources. This condition exists because the stakeholders often view the 'community' as the 'object' of development and the stakeholders make provisions of things and services with 'what they can do' in mind, rather than 'what people need' (Narayanan, 2003). This result also relates to the lack of coordination between stakeholders and the community (see Section 10.4.3).

#### **10.4.2 Peripherality: Access to resources**

In acknowledging the potential advantages of peripherality, above, the study's findings suggest that being located away from the periphery of core centres limits access to resources that are often linked to, and needed for, empowering of communities (e.g., information and knowledge, tourism benefits,

tourism market). This dilemma also has further social, political, and economic implications (Brown & Hall, 2000; Dodds et al., 2016).

Peripherality, in the form of village location and hamlet distribution, limits some community members' opportunities to access information and both formal and informal education. The results show that formal education can enhance a community's sense of empowerment; a finding supported by the literature (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Blackman et al., 2004; Cole, 2006; Moscardo, 2005; Pigg, 2002; Timothy, 2007; Wilson et al., 2001). Education gives the community access to information about potential tourism benefits aside from income, and the awareness of people's rights in the political process (see Chapters Seven and Eight). However, most residents of both communities have intermediate or elementary levels of formal education (see Chapters Five and Six). The geographical condition of both villages, their location, and hamlet distribution, is a factor that limits community members from accessing higher education since these educational facilities are available only in the core area. For example, in both villages, the education facilities available are kindergarten, elementary school, and junior high school. Higher education facilities are available in the district capital or capital city that is a long distance from the villages. The hamlet distribution of both villages is similar; education facilities are available only at the village centre or in hamlets with more community members, which limits access to education for other villagers who are living in isolated hamlets. This finding reinforces Wahab and Cooper's (2005) argument that widely dispersed populations and geography may influence educational opportunities for rural populations, frequently putting them at a disadvantage compared with their urban peers.

At the individual hamlet level, peripherality may limit villagers living in those zones from access to the tourism market (i.e., the tourists). Hamlet distribution, coupled with limited public transport, influences tourist mobilisation and affects community members' opportunities to meet tourists. This finding is supported by other studies (Brown & Hall, 2000; Dodds et al., 2016; Goodwin, 2002; Nash & Martin, 2003). In both villages, tourists are more likely to choose more accessible places (e.g., the tourism hamlet and hamlets closest to it) to stay in and conduct their activities. They rarely visit other hamlets unless their guides take them there. Since a tourist meets and interacts only with community members in a limited area of the village, it is not surprising that community members from those hamlets feel more empowered by tourism. Even though the literature suggests that fewer interactions with tourists can limit negative socio-cultural impacts (Reisinger & Turner, 2003), it also means, potentially, there are fewer opportunities to be empowered through tourism economically and/or psychologically (Cole, 2007) (see Chapters Seven and Eight).

Similarly, the results indicate that respondents who live in hamlets distant from the tourism centre are less likely to see the improvement in public facilities (e.g., roads). Improvements in public facilities take place only in hamlets close to the tourism hamlet (core) or when they are an important

part of tourism activities (see Chapters Seven and Eight). This result supports what has been said by other scholars that, in many cases, peripheral areas often suffer economic marginalisation in the form of unbalanced infrastructure development or limited opportunities to be involved in tourism (Blackman et al., 2004; Brown & Hall, 2000; Dodds et al., 2016; Fonseca & Ramos, 2012; Moscardo, 2005; Nash & Martin, 2003; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000).

The peripherality of some hamlets in the villages may also limit community opportunities to develop strong networks between community members. This supports the findings of other scholars who suggest that such networks can enhance community empowerment since they facilitate the circulation of tourism resources (Cole, 2006; Hwang & Stewart, 2016). Generally, in those villages, three community groups exist: the plantation workers, and ordinary people and tourism community groups. Each group lives in different hamlets with considerable distances between them. This socio-geographical situation means that they rarely meet and interact with each other, thereby inhibiting opportunities to create strong networks. This further exacerbates the lack of resources and information sharing between community groups. In the tourism context, for example, information related to tourism development, an empowerment resource, seems to be shared within only the tourism community. Therefore, it is not surprising that the results show that those who feel more empowered from tourism development are community members who are involved in tourism. In essence, tourism is a tool for empowerment, but the 'outcome' across all dimensions is limited to those directly or indirectly involved in the industry.

#### **10.4.3 Peripherality: Access to power (governance challenge)**

Tourism development is often recognised as a vehicle for sustainable development in rural communities. However, tourism development requires strategic efforts and stakeholder support to both initiate, and maintain, its success (McGehee et al., 2015). Tourism governance is one strategic way to overcome the weaknesses of peripherality (Fonseca & Ramos, 2012). As Brown and Hall (2000) and others suggest, peripherality is more than merely a geographical notion, it also refers to the distance relationship with the centres of power, i.e., regions may be considered insignificant because of political processes and lack political power. This lack of political power may influence community empowerment as it can determine the opportunities created to achieve the expected community empowerment outcomes.

#### **Stakeholder coordination**

This study found that the peripheral location of each community made it challenging to coordinate the activities of tourism stakeholders, some of whom are not located in the area, and local communities and their representatives; a quality recognised as a core variable for achieving sustainable tourism development and community empowerment in a rural area (Blackman et al.,

2004; Fonseca & Ramos, 2012; Friedberg & Hilderbrand, 2017; Jiang & Ritchie, 2017; Moscardo, 2005; Wilson et al., 2001). Both villages are quite a distance from the external stakeholders (e.g., tourism district, central government, and NGOs) and have limited accessibility to them (see Chapters Five and Six). The central government and some NGOs are located on a different island (Java), and the local government is centred in a different city. This condition limits the opportunities to meet and coordinate with each other (Lim & Sirimanne, 2011). For example, when the GLNP authority conducted socialisation related to a new policy (e.g., permit to organise tourism activities in the national park), it was difficult to distribute the information to the wider community or all tourism business directly, since it cost so much money. Therefore, they only invited the representative of the tourism organisation and tourism industry members with an assumption that the representative will inform the others. Or, in another case, when the central government through the Ministry of Forestry (located on another island) needed to provide information about new regulations or certain issues, they just sent a letter to the stakeholder since they could not afford to come to the area directly, due to a limited budget and time. It is also difficult to coordinate through email or phone, due to the lack of good communication systems. Being peripheral, both villages experience a lack of infrastructure (see Section 10.4.2), including communication facilities (see Chapters Five and Six). These circumstances limit the stakeholders' ability to develop effective communication with the community (Lim & Sirimanne, 2011; Wilson et al., 2001).

The power structure in Indonesia also makes coordination more difficult, as a complicated institutional structure can also cause a lack of coordination (Cao, 2015; Clifton, 2013; Friedberg & Hilderbrand, 2017; Lim & Sirimanne, 2011; Saufi, O'Brien, & Wilkins, 2014). The Indonesian political system is complex and has a 'peripheral characteristic' with the central government as the core power and the local government (e.g., village government) is a peripheral institution. The authority for tourism development planning is mostly held by the central government, which is located a distance from the village government in the structural hierarchy. The village government often has difficulty coordinating or communicating with central government since there are several structures that must be passed through, such as the sub-district, district and provincial levels (see Chapter Four). The structure also causes a lack of information flow from the village government to the central government that often results in an unsuitable fit between a government-directed tourism plan with community conditions, and the development's decision-making is undertaken in the core regions (e.g., programme planning, regulation frameworks). This does not necessarily correspond to the communities' characteristics, needs and interests (Hall & Boyd, 2005). An example relates to plantation village regulations outlined in Chapter Four. As explained there, there is no particular policy-related to plantation villages, however, the village government still does not involve themselves in the tourism planning process (see Section 6.4.1). However, the village government

was not able to communicate about this issue directly to the central government. During the interviews, the village government explained that they had attempted to report the situation to the central government. Due to the procedure, they submitted the report first to the sub-district. However, the village government has not yet received a response from the sub-district. The interviewee even felt unsure if the report, in fact, had been submitted to the highest level.

The incompatibility of plans and regulations with specific community conditions may lead to failure in tourism programme implementation since the stakeholders fail to provide what the community needs at a particular time. For example, at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, a lack of coordination led to the programme for natural disaster recovery failing to fulfil community needs to cope with the impacts of floods. Despite substantial funding being provided by the Indonesian Government for flood recovery efforts, the funds were not used in ways that were seen as of most benefit to the community. For example, the government focused its efforts on relocating Bukit Lawang residents to other areas and building houses there, but some in the community felt that financial support would have been more useful to help them re-build their businesses, including tourism businesses, since they lacked the capital to do so after the flood. The lack of capital in the local community subsequently led to the domination of the tourism industry by non-locals (i.e., foreigners and people from outside the village) who had more capital than the locals. This has resulted in the disempowerment of local people from tourism development (see Chapter Seven). As noted by other scholars, a lack of capital and elite domination can inhibit community empowerment (Goodwin, 2002; Klimmek, 2013; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). However, the issue is different in Namo Sialang, where the authority is with the local community. Nevertheless, there are other factors leading to problems, namely, the lack of local leadership.

### **Lack of local leadership**

The study's findings reveal that there is a lack of local leadership for tourism in each village, which has limited the effectiveness of tourism programmes in facilitating empowerment outcomes through the community. Both villages, with their geographic and political peripherality, require strong leaders at the community level to coordinate tourism development in their area and to coordinate with outside stakeholders and government agencies. The lack of leadership in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang seems to relate to a lack of regulations about the characteristics of a plantation village, which means that the village government is not permitted to be involved in tourism development (see Chapter Five). In this situation, the tourist guide association has become the leader in tourism development, but its programme focuses on its members (guides) and not on the interests of the wider community. As a result, guides feel more empowered than other groups in this community (see Chapter Seven). At Namo Sialang, the local tourism association leader (LPT) has a legal mandate from the central

government to lead tourism development (see Chapter Six). However, it is clear that there are other issues that limit the effectiveness of these efforts.

Because of the distribution of community members and the fragmentation of the community into several groups (i.e., tourism community, plantation community, and ordinary community), it seems that both villages need community leaders who can build strong networks between the different groups to enhance the communities' opportunities to become empowered through tourism development. Currently, only the 'tourism community' feels empowered by tourism development, based on its opportunities to access empowerment resources (e.g., information related to tourism). The results reveal that members of the most disadvantaged groups (e.g., women, certain ethnic groups and the plantation community) feel that they could not voice their opinions or be heard by the decision-makers in tourism development in their villages (see Chapters Seven and Eight). In addition, because of the sporadic distribution of the hamlets, a local leader would be expected to ensure the distribution of tourism development benefits to the whole community (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014), which does not occur in these villages. For example, the LPT always had a profit-sharing scheme with the community. However, the money is given directly to the village government, and the LPT never monitors the use of the funds. In addition, when the LPT supports public facilities in the village, the LPT often prioritises the hamlets closest to the tourism destination. The study's results show that only certain hamlets or community groups (i.e., hamlets close to the tourism hamlet) receive benefits from tourism, e.g., improved public facilities. The literature suggests that a good leader should be able to accommodate various groups in the community and learn from those who are isolated or from minority groups (Hwang & Stewart, 2016; Maruyama et al., 2016b; Sadan, 2004). The problems that arise when the local leadership is not strong, have been highlighted by other scholars (Blackman et al., 2004; Garrod, 2003; Hwang & Stewart, 2016; Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014; McGehee et al., 2015; Nash & Martin, 2003; Pigg, 2002; Sadan, 2004; UNEP & UNWTO, 2005; Wilson et al., 2001).

To support community empowerment, particularly its political dimension, the community in both areas needs local leaders with certain traits and skills (see Section 10.3.3). With the community consisting of multicultural groups with different values, a leader is expected to be able to, and intend to, reach out to all community groups. However, the results show that culture inhibits the process to find local leaders with those skills. In these cases, there is an 'ascription' value in the leader election process, despite any performance, as the forum (where the election takes place) usually chooses the leader based on connections (kinship) or ethnicity. For example, since the initiator is Karonese, therefore, later leaders will more likely come from the same ethnicity or family branch (see Chapter Six). Since village political life in an Indonesian community typically centres around the ruling clan group or an elected village head (Forshee, 2006), this situation could influence opportunities in the

area. This situation suggested that the existence of local leadership often related to the culture of a community.

### **Elite domination**

A lack of strong local leadership in each village has exacerbated the issue of domination by the elites. The existence of elite domination in both villages has limited the opportunities for certain groups in the community to be involved in tourism and its planning. This situation has been reported elsewhere (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Charnley, 2005; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; He et al., 2008; Narayanan, 2003; Tosun, 2000; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000). In both villages, the stakeholders who have more power and resources or who become elite in tourism development, are members of the tourism organisation. They have more power because almost all external stakeholders are connected to the tourism organisation. In this way, these organisations have the power to control information and resources between other members and the wider community (Hwang & Stewart, 2016). In addition, the LPT also has more power through its dual-agent role, i.e., as representatives of the national power in these rural communities and in representing the whole community in managing common resources in the village (Moscardo, 2008; Weng & Peng, 2014). The LPT has power from the Ministry of Forestry and acts as its representative in the community while managing common resources in the village and also the tourism resources. HPI has power from the Langkat Tourism Office.

The existence of elite domination in both villages could inhibit community empowerment. For example, the LPT, as an elite organisation, decides who can be involved in training, meetings and discussions related to tourism conducted by external stakeholders, such as NGOs. Involvement in training could increase residents' skills and knowledge about tourism, which could enhance their opportunities to gain economic benefits from tourism. Involvement in tourism activities could also enhance community cohesion since community members could meet, interact and connect with each other but the elite groups in these villages limit the tourism involvement of certain community groups (e.g., women, plantation workers, certain ethnicities).

The elites also have control of the tourism market, including the tourist activities and the facilities offered in the area which, again, influence the communities' opportunities to benefit from the tourists. This result is similar to that of Knight and Cottrell's (2016) study of Intrepid guides who control the interactions between tourists and the community. In both villages, guides or rangers control what the tourists will do and where they can go. Often, they also are the ones who decide where tourists will buy their food or souvenirs. This power affects which members of the community will benefit from tourists and who will not.



The existence of elite domination or the extent of local power distribution within tourism development also needs to be considered in the context of the very specific cultural settings in these villages, which plays a significant role in opportunities for community empowerment.

## **10.5 The cultural construct and community empowerment**

This study has shown that culture, particularly the cultural values and norms of various groups within a community, has an important role in shaping opportunities for empowerment in tourism development. This finding supports what other scholars have already reported, that empowerment is very much a site-specific phenomenon and context-dependent (Ayscue et al., 2016; Cole, 2007; Dolezal, 2015; Dombroski, 2006; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012; Maruyama et al., 2016a; Moscardo et al., 2013). This study's setting is in the North Sumatra province of Indonesia, and both communities comprise a range of ethnic groups that differ in their cultural values. However, those involved in tourism planning and the tourism industry are mostly from one ethnic group (Karonese) (see Chapters Seven and Eight).

### **10.5.1 Cultural values and community empowerment in tourism development**

The findings indicate that the concept of community empowerment by tourism, either the processes or outcomes, may not be entirely appropriate for these communities. While several scholars have noted that involvement in tourism development planning can be a tool to achieve community empowerment (Moscardo et al., 2013; Park & Kim, 2016; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017; Scheyvens, 1999; Thomas & Middleton, 2003; Timothy, 2007), this study has shown that the bottom-up approach applied in tourism development at Namo Sialang did not achieve a marked improvement in terms of community empowerment. The argument here is that cultural values have played a significant role in inhibiting community empowerment in these communities, particularly for women. This suggestion agrees with scholars who found that culture is one obstacle to achieving community empowerment in tourism planning (Cole, 2006; Dolezal, 2015; Hatipoglu et al., 2016; Thammajinda, 2013; Tosun, 2000; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000).

The findings indicate that the cultural values held by the community could limit community empowerment. The culture seems to inhibit certain community groups from involvement in tourism and its planning. Several cultural values that hinder community empowerment are in-groups and out-groups, ascription cultural values, collectivism combined with family-oriented values, collectivism combined with covert communication, being in a high context culture, having a culture of harmony, a high power distance culture, a formal culture, 'uncertainty avoidance', and following traditions.

Collectivism, which is similar to 'power with', could be an enabling factor for community empowerment. However, the same values could also be a challenge since the thinking is usually

aimed at preserving the interests of specific 'in-groups' or families instead of the wider community (see Section 2.4.2).. The values of the 'in-groups and out-groups' (Reisinger & Turner, 2003) in these villages inhibit community empowerment since they limit certain community groups (e.g., ethnic groups) from the opportunity to be involved in tourism and its planning. In these communities, people prefer their in-group members and often restrict those not belonging to their group from involvement in their activities (Batson et al., 2002; Reisinger & Turner, 2003). In both villages, the tourism organisation's members, who have more power and empowerment resources (e.g., information related tourism), were mostly Karonese. The Karonese see other ethnic groups (e.g., Javanese, who came from another island) as outsiders. The results show that only a few respondents who came from Java are involved in tourism and its planning (see Chapters Seven and Eight). One reason they cannot be involved is that they are not 'sons of the region (*putra daerah*)' (see Chapter Eight).

In addition, these two village communities also have an "ascription" cultural value (Forshee, 2006); this is the belief that one can be valued based on one's inherent qualities (e.g., ethnic group, social status) and not on individual characteristics or performance (Forshee, 2006; Parsons, 1951). This value limits opportunities for different groups from the community to be involved in tourism. For example, since most people involved in tourism were Karonese who have a clan system (see Chapter Five), so they prefer to employ people from their clan rather than other clans or community groups. Based on observations and informal conversations, when they recruit new workers, they do not pay much attention to the skills the potential employee has. The employer first considers which family or ethnicity the applicant comes from. In their opinion, skills are not too important since they can be learned; family connections are more important, and they have a responsibility to help their family, including giving them a job (informal conversations).

The values outlined above also relate to the 'family-oriented' values of these communities. The results of this study show that those who have family involved in tourism have more opportunities to work in the industry since employees prefer their own family or clan to others, as part of their loyalty or responsibility to their family. As explained by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) as cited in Reisinger and Turner (2003), a community with this family-oriented collective culture depends on each other at work, school and home, and their behaviour is motivated by loyalty to the group, its duties, and responsibilities (e.g., family). The family needs and security are the concern of all members, and each family member depends on others for security and protection, including economic security (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). This condition becomes a problem in community empowerment since the concern to meet their members' needs leads to the exclusion of non-members' needs (Dolezal, 2015; Knight & Cottrell, 2016).

The 'collectivism' and 'family-oriented' values then combine with 'covert communication' to inhibit community empowerment and limits certain community groups' access to information related to tourism, which is a vital resource for community empowerment (Cole, 2006; Thomas & Middleton, 2003). The values cause the information flow to often be distributed only to certain families or community groups and not to the wider community.

As evidence, the results indicate that those who have family involved in tourism or a tourism organisation are more likely to have opportunities to work in tourism since they have more opportunities to obtain information about job opportunities (see Chapters Seven and Eight). Participant observation also showed that those involved in activities conducted by stakeholders (e.g., training, discussions) are those with family involved in a tourism organisation or the tourism industry since they are the people who receive information about the activities and so have more opportunities to be involved. In both villages, stakeholders (e.g., LPT, NGOs, and government) made a good start by conducting a meeting to distribute information related to tourism; this is the first stage in empowering a local community (Cole, 2006). However, aside from this meeting, the stakeholders rarely distributed information in any other way (e.g., written form), which means the information was received only by those who came to the meeting. Moreover, the community mostly distributes information by 'word to mouth', which causes other groups who have the opportunity to get the information being only those who interact with the people who went to the meeting (e.g., family and closest friends). The opportunity for the wider community to attend a meeting would be a good start for the political empowerment dimension. Afterward, continuous communication is needed to enhance a community's sense of the higher levels of the political dimension and other community empowerment dimensions. As found by Park and Kim (2016) in Goolwa, continuous communication brought substantial and significant changes to the level of local community involvement and its subsequent empowerment.

The community in each village included a 'high context' culture that might inhibit certain community groups from being involved in tourism. In this culture, agreements tend to be spoken rather than written; and written contracts are not binding and can be changed depending on the situation (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). The value is that the regulation-related criteria of those involved in tourism development, either in the industry or its planning, are not applicable. The tourism organisations in both villages have a regulation that states the criteria or requirements of those who can be involved in tourism or become a tourism organisation member. None of these criteria are about ethnicity (see Chapters Five and Six). However, as discussed above, cultural values hinder certain community groups (i.e., certain ethnic groups) from involvement or work in tourism. Namo Sialang has a masterplan, regulations or agreements, designed by the community and facilitated by the stakeholders (i.e., GLNP and NGOs). The documents are guides for tourism development at

Tangkahan (see Chapter Six) that, among other things, defines who may be involved in tourism planning and the criteria for a leader.

Nevertheless, the community rarely considers these criteria. Based on informal conversations, even though some people feel that the situation is unfair, most do not want to complain or disagree to maintain harmony within the community ('culture of harmony' value). In these communities, as in Indonesian communities, in general, harmony is valued more than conflict. Community members tend to avoid confrontations, emphasise self-restraint, avoid criticism, negative opinions, complaints, and conflicts in interpersonal relations (Reisinger & Turner, 2003).

In these two communities, as in most Indonesian communities, particularly in peripheral areas, a high power distance culture exists, with an emphasis on obedience, conformity, authority, supervision, social hierarchy, and inequality (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). The villagers are used to acting on instructions and do not feel empowered to act without being directed by those of a higher power. This aligns with Cole's (2007) findings for another Indonesian community, as based on participant observations during meetings, participants would not voice their opinions or ask questions until their leader advises them to do so.

The findings indicate that the cultural values of the community, such as the 'formal culture' value, could inhibit community empowerment since the culture often discourages community members from voicing their opinions or asking questions. This showed up in the survey results where some respondents did not want to voice their opinions and ask questions (see Chapters Seven and Eight). In a formal culture, all human behaviour, including talking, has strict social behaviour rules based on status. This culture affects interaction patterns between community members, such as the young, elderly or men and women, which influences their opportunities and intentions to talk or voice opinions in meetings or to join in certain activities that mix generations or men and women. In this culture, criticising in public would make people lose face and damage their relationships with those criticised (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). Therefore, even though the younger generation may disagree with their elders, they are reluctant to voice their opinions since this will affect their elders' honour (see Chapter Six).

The findings indicate that the cultural values held by the community inhibit the community from gaining greater benefits from tourism development since the values limit their intentions or motivation towards innovation. Field observations and document analysis showed that the tourism activities offered by the tourism industry in both villages are similar and have not changed for a long time (see Chapters Five and Six). The community culture, such as 'uncertainty avoidance' (Hofstede et al., 2002), is the factor that inhibits the communities' intentions to develop innovation (e.g., develop new tourism products or activities) to gain more benefit from tourism. Communities with

this cultural value usually avoid ideas considered as dangerous and a threat to stability (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). In both villages, those who innovate (with support from their network of international friends) can gain greater benefit from tourism development (see Chapter Seven). Based on field observations, the community has many potential products and opportunities that could be offered as tourism products (e.g., traditional food). However, based on informal conversations, very few people are interested in developing a new product or in being entrepreneurial. From their perspective, to produce the new product would be very risky.

‘Uncertainty avoidance’ is accompanied by the value that ‘follows traditions’, which hinders community empowerment since the values that make changes in the community are difficult. In general, Indonesian cultures pay attention to the past and follow traditions, which makes communities cautious of change since change brings uncertainty and that needs to be avoided (Schneider and Barsoux, 1997 as cited in Reisinger & Turner, 2003). Village communities that are more likely to hold strongly to traditions, including political structures that create unequal opportunities for society to be involved in decision-making, still exist. The literature suggests that in some cases, to achieve community empowerment, will require a change in power structures (CDX & Changes, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002; Sofield, 2003; Weng & Peng, 2014). The power structure in the communities of both villages is the same. For example, in Namo Sialang, power is held by the older generation and by a certain ethnic group, the indigenous community. This power structure causes unbalanced power for the younger generation or other ethnic groups, which limits their opportunities to become empowered through tourism development.

This study’s findings indicate that because of community structures, many cultural values hinder some community members from being involved in tourism development or discourages them from involvement in tourism development. This may raise the possibility that the concept of empowerment, as both a process and an outcome, may not be appropriate in this context without modification.

### **10.5.2 Norms applied and community empowerment in the tourism development process**

In addition to cultural values, the norms applied in the community can also limit certain community groups from empowerment through tourism development. A norm applied in the village that influences the communities’ sense of empowerment is the restriction on plantation company employees from being involved in tourism. This restriction limits their opportunities to benefit from tourism development. This norm is based on the history of the society. As noticed by Moscardo et al. (2013), in the long-term, social norms control community behaviour and residents’ involvement in community-based-tourism. In Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, the company expects those who work for

the plantation company not to work in tourism, so as not to risk affecting their responsibilities in the plantation area. No actual sanction is applied to those who violate the norm. Nevertheless, most plantation employees obey the rule because of the 'honour system'.

Implementation of traditional norms is related to the lack of government regulations. The Indonesian Government does not have particular regulations relating to 'plantation villages' (see Chapter Four). This implementation results in the exclusion of villagers who live in plantation villages from the village's government of being involved in the tourism industry and its decision-making. This finding reinforces Setiawan and Kusmawan (2016) finding that Indonesian policy, particularly at the village level, does not recognise the diversity of the Indonesian communities and this causes the marginalisation of disadvantaged groups (e.g., a lack of access to participate and enjoy the benefits of development and other resources in the village). The implications of this result are that, in designing regulations, the Indonesian Government should consider community conditions and characteristics to accommodate community needs and interests. This implication corresponds with other suggestions by scholars (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005; Cao, 2015; Carson et al., 2014; Macbeth et al., 2008; Mehring et al., 2011).

### **10.5.3 Empowerment for women**

The study's findings indicate that the cultural values of the community, coupled with a lack of strong local leadership, and the existence of domination by the elites has resulted in the marginalisation of women. In the survey and the in-depth interviews, several respondents defined empowerment focused around the opportunities available for women (see Chapters Seven and Eight). However, the literature suggests that women's empowerment often depends on the context and is culturally determined (Boley et al., 2017).

The findings of the current study show that cultural values inhibit women's access to education, which further reduces their ability to become empowered. This is consistent with the international research literature, which shows that education, particularly formal education, could be the main strategy for women's empowerment (Brookes & Nwosu, 2014; Guinée, 2014; Jayaweera, 1997). However, this study's results indicate that women in both villages seem reluctant to pursue higher education or training opportunities because of a lack of encouragement from their families (i.e., their husband or parents), and this supports other research findings (Cole, 2007; Guinée, 2014; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012).

Going further, the findings of this study show that local perceptions of the different roles of women and men influence the type of tourism employment that can be undertaken by women. In an Indonesian community, there is a perception that relates men with *berani* ('bravery' or 'boldness')

and *kejantanan* ('virile,' or 'brave') and, for women, *lemah* ('weak' but also 'supple' and 'graceful') (Forshee, 2006). This perception causes the community to think that women cannot work in a job that needs strength and/or bravery. In the tourism context, most job opportunities in the case study villages need both strength and bravery. The job types related to tourism activities offered at both villages are nature-based, which mostly involves adventures in nature, e.g., river rafting, tubing, and caving. The community does not believe that women can (or should) do these activities. From the community's perspective, women are more suited to jobs that do not require much energy and/or courage, such as cooking or cleaning, but employment opportunities in domestic areas are much fewer in these communities.

Indonesian culture, and the cultural norms and values in the case study villages of this research, clearly influenced women's opportunities to be involved in tourism planning (for similar findings see (Duffy, Kline, Mowatt, & Chancellor, 2015; Ferguson & Alarcón, 2015; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010). In the study area communities, the role of women is identified with work in domestic spaces, such as cooking, washing, cleaning the house, taking care of children, taking care of their husbands and others. Men are identified with the work in public spaces, such as making a living (working outside the home), making decisions, arranging households, and being the head of the family (br Purba, 2015). Because of the communities' gender-role perceptions, leaders rarely invite women to attend important meetings; thus, diminishing the opportunities for women to voice their opinions and influence tourism planning. Although occasionally asked for their opinion, in practice, the women's view will always follow the men's because it would be considered rude if their ideas were contrary to the men. The results show that women were most likely choose a neutral answer in the political empowerment dimension. Reasons provided by the participants of this research are that they are reluctant to voice their opinions or ask questions in front of the men and that this is not the main part in their role as a housewife (see Chapters Seven and Eight). The Indonesian community is a community that holds what Reisinger and Turner (2003) call 'formal cultural' values that in a Karonese community affects the interactions between men and women, which further influences their opportunities and intentions to talk or voice opinions in meetings or to join in activities that involve both women and men.

The community perceptions about the interaction patterns between women and men in these areas also influence the extent of women's empowerment by tourism development. The villagers have a negative stereotype associated with tourism jobs, particularly guides, because of the interactions involved with tourists. From the villagers' perspective, women should not work as guides since it requires them to interact with strangers in the forest, including men, which is not appropriate for women (see Section 7.2.2). In addition to that negative perception, the Indonesian community thinks that females tire easily and cannot walk long distances (Forshee, 2006). Therefore, becoming a guide

is perceived as not suitable for women because of this weakness. Therefore, people mostly think that women cannot work as guides, who often need to walk long distances to accompany tourists. The results show that becoming a guide, particularly in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, can give rise to more opportunities in tourism and its decision-making, so becoming empowered by tourism development. The literature suggests that interactions with visitors could enhance women's opportunities to become empowered, by changing the negative gender stereotypes held by both the hosts and their guests, leading to better recognition of women's rights (Kubo & Supriyanto, 2010; Moswete & Lacey, 2015).

Tourism actually gives opportunities for women to become empowered through entrepreneurship, and this could provide economic independence for women (Cole, 2007). Women, with their traditional knowledge (e.g., traditional cuisine, handicraft, etc.), can create new tourism products, e.g., traditional food or accessories and sell to tourists. However, community culture, such as 'uncertainty avoidance' and 'power distance' (Reisinger & Turner, 2003), inhibits them from doing new things. The culture makes women used to obeying those perceived as superior to them (i.e., their husbands for married women, and parents for unmarried women). This culture causes the lack of women's intention to become entrepreneurs. The reasons are that they are not sure about the result (i.e., whether their business will be a success) and no one encourages them (e.g., family, government) to become an entrepreneur. This result is similar to Cole's (2007) findings in Ngadha, Indonesia.

## 10.6 Conclusions

The study aims to explore ***how and to what degree tourism is empowering local, rural communities in Indonesia***. Community empowerment is about community members taking control of their lives and sharing the benefits of tourism development equally. The literature suggests that if a community and its members have control over tourism development in their area, the community, and individual empowerment, should be enhanced. The study results indicate that differences in the level of power in the community seems to not affect the achievement of empowerment outcomes. Even though the community of Namo Sialang held power in tourism development, equal benefit sharing from tourism development is difficult to achieve. Several factors could limit the expected community empowerment outcomes from tourism development, either in a top-down and bottom-up approach, such as peripheral characteristics, in the geographical and political sense, and the cultural values of the community.

The study gives evidence that peripherality in the geographical sense limits community empowerment. This type of peripherality limits community access to empowerment resources, such



as information and the tourism market (i.e., tourists), opportunities to work in tourism and to benefit from tourism revenue. In the political sense, being in a peripheral area could limit community empowerment since it limits the opportunities to create good governance and an equal opportunity structure for the whole community in the region. Being peripheral could also create issues for stakeholder coordination, a lack of local leadership, and elite domination.

The findings indicate that the concept of community empowerment by tourism, either the processes or outcomes, may not be entirely appropriate for these communities. One reason is that the cultural values of the community cause some groups (e.g., women, certain ethnic groups) not to get involved in tourism or its planning. For example, a cultural value of the community restricts certain community groups (i.e., women, certain ethnic groups) from being involved in tourism and its planning processes. Consequently, this lack of involvement will limit their opportunities to benefit from tourism development.

Overall, the results suggest that the empowerment concept, as developed in a western context, may not be suitable for a developing country, since the concept may not take enough account of cultural factors and issues arising from political and geographical peripherality in the delivery of empowerment outcomes through tourism. There is a need to refine the conceptualisation of empowerment.

## Chapter 11

### Conclusions

#### 11.1 Introduction

Community empowerment is a concept that contains two key ideas: empowerment as an outcome (a person or group is empowered) and empowerment as a process (of empowering groups or individuals). However, to realise community empowerment and to achieve the expected outcomes is not simple. To achieve this involves a mix of social, cultural, political and environmental conditions, which seem difficult to achieve in developing countries. Community empowerment is a concept widely used in tourism development at the community level, but the concept is often assessed via one-shot case studies that focus on the outcome rather than the process. This study has used qualitative and quantitative social research methods to explore and compare the processes and outcomes of community empowerment in two Indonesian communities where tourism has been developed in quite different ways. The study's main research question was: "How, and to what degree, does tourism empower local rural communities in Indonesia?" Five research objectives were established to answer these questions, which address both the the empowerment processes and outcomes more holistically. This concluding chapter provides a final set of comments about each of the study's objectives; thus, in outlining the contribution of this work to the field of tourism research, it also provides a set of recommendations for future research.

#### 11.2 Research contribution

***The first objectives are to identify the stakeholders involved, their motivations for involvement in tourism development in the case study areas, and to determine what role community empowerment has in these motivations.***

This study indicates that the level of involvement of tourism stakeholders in tourism development is not entirely influenced by community empowerment. The stakeholders involved in tourism development in both villages are similar, and range from central to local government, through non-governmental organisations to tourism organisations and the tourism industry. However, their involvement in Namo Sialang is more intensive than in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang. In Namo Sialang, the stakeholders supported the community during the development stage, from the initial phase (or planning process) to the implementation (Section 6.4) while, in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, this happens only intermittently. However, despite the differences in levels of involvement, the extent of community empowerment perceived by respondents has relatively few differences in most measures of community empowerment between the villages studied.

This finding suggests that stakeholders' motivation to be involved in tourism development is one factor that could influence the community empowerment processes and outcomes. In both villages, the stakeholders' main motivation for empowering the community was so the community can support the stakeholders' institution in performing their roles and responsibilities in nature preservation. Community empowerment is only part of their programme and it becomes a tool in achieving the institution's broader mission. This motivation influences the programmes and activities planned and implemented in the village, and afterwards, the empowerment outcome experienced by the community.

***The second objective is to identify the role of the stakeholders in community empowerment related to tourism development in these areas.***

The literature notes that empowerment is about 'agency,' which means community empowerment is not just about communities changing as they 'become empowered,' but also about stakeholders changing the way they work with them to take more 'empowering approaches' (CDX & Changes, 2008). The results from the in-depth interviews indicate that the external stakeholders involved in tourism development in the case study areas play crucial roles in community empowerment since they create the opportunity structures for the community. However, in both villages, external stakeholders, who could be expected to facilitate community empowerment in these areas, were more likely to develop 'power over' certain community groups. This occurred because the stakeholders focused their programmes on tourism community groups (e.g., guides, tourism industry employees) and had less concern for other groups in the village (e.g., women, the plantation community). The stakeholders' (e.g., GLNP authority, environmental and conservation NGOs) programmes also focused more on education to work in tourism rather than for the communities themselves to make decisions about tourism development; a point previously noted by Moscardo (2005). The literature suggests that to achieve community empowerment in the tourism context, tourism planning or programmes should be as much about planning for residents as about planning for tourists (Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

This study indicates that the stakeholders involved in tourism development, particularly at Namo Sialang, worked to increase community confidence, which improved people's skills and knowledge so they believed that they can make a difference and take part in, and influence, decisions and activities (see Chapter Six). However, all stakeholders have not worked in inclusive ways or considered that differences exist in the community. They have also not promoted equality of opportunity and good relations between the different groups, or challenged existing inequalities and exclusionary practices. In general, these external stakeholders' activities focused on only the tourism industry members with materials related to the tourism industry and natural resources conservation; they

have not conducted activities for other community members or disadvantaged groups (e.g., women). The literature notes that to achieve community empowerment, stakeholders should tailor activities for different participants, acknowledging their conditions and needs, rather than generalising the community as a whole (Weng & Peng, 2014). In addition, although the literature suggests that community empowerment needs continuous efforts (Li & Hunter, 2015), the tourism stakeholders mostly conducted one-off, short-term programmes without follow-up, such as evaluations or monitoring.

***The third objective is to analyse the processes of community empowerment that are occurring/have occurred in these areas.***

In both case study villages, the survey results indicate that tourism development can empower some local community members by enhancing their agency individually ('power to'), collectively ('power with') and their self-awareness ('power within') (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). The study findings indicate, however, that tourism development in both villages has not empowered 'all' groups within the community in an equal measure or, even, most community members. The process of generative empowerment (e.g., agency, collectively, and self-awareness), occurred more often among males, those who were tourism industry members (e.g., guides, tourism industry employees), a certain ethnic group (Karonese) and community members who lived in, or near, the area where tourism occurred. This process resulted from tourism stakeholders' activities that were more likely to create 'power over' the village community, rather than involve a true empowering approach.

***The fourth objective is to analyse how local communities are being empowered in tourism development.***

The literature notes that tourism has the potential to empower communities, and a sustainable tourism agenda needs to focus on how to bring this about (Cole, 2006). This study argues that the bottom-up approach alone is not enough to achieve community empowerment in tourism development. Arguably, a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches can work better to achieve sustainable tourism development (c.f. Caalders (2000)). The findings indicate that the bottom-up approach could not achieve the expected results since there are certain conditions, such as local power structures that limit the empowerment process. To overcome this, there is a need for intervention from higher powers (e.g., central government). This is because intervention from the central government, which design opportunity structures or implements regulations, ensures that powerless groups can be involved in tourism development since the community often experiences difficulty in changing its habits. For example, in every meeting, there should be a representative of a women's group or other ethnic groups. As indicated by Narayanan (2003), to involve disadvantaged

groups in the community (e.g., women) in the planning process, often needs action by the state to dismantle power structures within the community.

As noted in most of the literature, involvement in tourism planning and the tourism industry is a factor that can enhance the extent of community empowerment; this study suggests a similar result. Other factors identified that seem to enhance community empowerment through tourism development are access to information that could improve community skills and knowledge, the existence of benefit sharing from tourism revenue, interactions and networking with outsiders (bridging network), and the nature of tourism development itself (Tables 11.1).

Table 11.1 Enabling factors for community empowerment through tourism development

<b>Economic empowerment</b>	<b>Psychological empowerment</b>	<b>Social empowerment</b>	<b>Political empowerment</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to information</li> <li>• Skills and knowledge</li> <li>• Involvement in the tourism industry</li> <li>• Benefit sharing from tourism</li> <li>• Networking</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to information</li> <li>• Skills and knowledge</li> <li>• Interactions with outsiders</li> <li>• Networks</li> <li>• The nature of tourism development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Knowledge</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to information</li> <li>• Knowledge</li> <li>• The nature of tourism development</li> </ul>

Access to information can empower a community since it could enhance community skills and knowledge. The findings of the household survey indicated that knowledge is the most crucial factor in enhancing community empowerment in tourism development. Knowledge can enhance political empowerment since it improves people's awareness of their right to participate in the development process. In terms of social empowerment, knowledge encourages people to work together to ensure the success of tourism development, since they are aware of the potential benefits it can create, even though they have not yet received those benefits. Knowledge can also increase economic empowerment from tourism since it can be a determining factor in the type of occupation in which employment could be gained.

In addition to this enabling factor, the study also suggests several factors that could limit community empowerment, including the communities' culture and peripherality (Table 11.2). As noted by Narayanan (2003), community involvement is often influenced by cultural factors since culturally, participation or involvement of people covers their sense of belonging to the community and fraternity rather than the state. The findings indicate that community culture, in this case, the values held and norms applied by the community, inhibit community empowerment and outcomes since it hinders certain community groups from involvement in tourism or tourism planning.

Table 11.2 Limiting factors for community empowerment through tourism development

Economic empowerment	Psychological empowerment	Social empowerment	Political empowerment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community culture</li> <li>• Peripherality</li> <li>• Lack of sound regulations</li> <li>• The nature of tourism</li> <li>• Elite domination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community culture</li> <li>• Peripherality</li> <li>• Lack of sound regulations</li> <li>• Lack of economic benefits</li> <li>• The nature of tourism</li> <li>• Lack of trust between stakeholders</li> <li>• Lack of stakeholder coordination</li> <li>• Asymmetry of information distribution</li> <li>• Lack of skill and networks</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community culture</li> <li>• Peripherality</li> <li>• Lack of economic benefits</li> <li>• Lack of dependency on tourism development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community culture</li> <li>• Peripherality</li> <li>• Lack of sound regulations</li> <li>• Planning process mechanism</li> <li>• Power structures</li> </ul>

Several cultural values hinder community empowerment, including in-groups, and out-groups, ascribed cultural values, collectivism combined with family-oriented values, collectivism combined with covert communication, a high context culture, a culture of harmony, a high power distance culture, a formal culture, 'uncertainty avoidance', and following traditions. In term of norms, a norm that influences the communities' sense of empowerment is a restriction on the plantation company employees being involved in tourism. Even though no actual sanction has been applied to those who violate the norm, nevertheless, most plantation employees follow the 'rule' because of the 'honour system'. The community culture also causes some community group members (e.g., women, Javanese people) to become marginalised, since the culture restricts them from being involved in all aspects of tourism planning and development.

The findings indicate that the peripherality of these communities and the groups within these communities, play an essential role in community empowerment. Peripherality can inhibit community empowerment since it causes several conditions, such as limited community access to empowerment resources (e.g., information and knowledge, tourism benefits, tourism market) and a lack of stakeholder coordination. In both villages, this condition is exacerbated by the absence of a strong local leader in tourism development. This condition led to the emergence of 'power over' or elite domination by certain local stakeholders in each village (see Section 10.3.3).

***The fifth objective is to explore to what degree tourism is empowering local rural communities in Indonesia.***

Based on the two case study communities, the results suggest that a bottom-up approach to tourism planning is not a guarantee for achieving community empowerment. The results indicate that, despite the differences in community involvement in tourism planning between the two villages,

there are no significant differences in the extent of community empowerment as perceived by the community itself. Nevertheless, the village with the bottom-up approach does show more evidence of community empowerment from tourism development. For example, in terms of **economic empowerment**, the benefits for the Perkebunan Bukit Lawang community are still unclear since there is no evidence of improvements in public facilities. At Namo Sialang, there is some evidence of improved public facilities (e.g., English Club for children, roads and bridges). In **psychological empowerment**, the Namo Sialang community showed more evidence of community empowerment than the Perkebunan Bukit Lawang community. In **social empowerment**, tourism development at both villages seemed not to increase community cohesion since it did not provide ways for individuals to be involved in the community. However, more respondents in Namo Sialang want to work with others to ensure tourism's success than in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, more people felt that an increase in conflict resulted from tourism development. With **political empowerment**, tourism development at Namo Sialang has given opportunities for more people, including those not involved in tourism, to voice their opinions and ask questions related to tourism development in their area. At Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, the opportunity seems limited to those involved in tourism.

The findings suggest that, to some extent, the community empowerment dimensions relate to each other, as has been pointed out by many scholars. In this study, economic empowerment relates to psychological and social empowerment. For example, in Perkebunan Bukit Lawang, income from tourism (economic empowerment) encouraged and allowed community members to send their children to pursue higher level education (psychological empowerment). Another example is that the people who benefit from tourism development (economic empowerment) are more likely to be motivated to ensure its success (psychological empowerment). On the other hand, in both villages, a lack of confidence in finding local employment, which affects the cash earned by the community, made most respondents not want to pursue higher education and/or training opportunities. However, in some cases, economic empowerment does not relate to psychological empowerment. For example, the results show that even though the community is not economically empowered, the members still feel proud of their resources. As suggested by Garrod (2003), the need for sustainability is more likely to be embraced by local people if they have a clear stake in its the planning and management. This is particularly so if they are receiving economic benefits from sustainably managed ecotourism. It has been argued by Boley et al. (2014) that the economic dimension could be related to political empowerment. This study did not show any evidence of this relationship. Arguably, political empowerment in both villages is more likely to be influenced by the context or the social-cultural situation in the community or the form of tourism development.

The study indicated that the concept of empowerment, either as a process or an outcome, may not be appropriate in the current context, given the range of cultural values, as becoming involved in tourism development or decision-making for some groups is not desired or even considered appropriate. In other words, the community empowerment concept, as developed in a western context, is not necessarily suitable for application in a developing country. The results suggest this might be because the concept did not consider fully community culture or issues that arise from peripherality in the political or geographical sense in community empowerment or in the delivery of empowerment outcomes through tourism.

### **11.3 Recommendations for future research**

According to the major findings of this study, several future research areas can extend our understanding of community empowerment through tourism development in developing countries, since much of the literature already states that community empowerment is context-dependent. Peripherality has been shown to affect the community empowerment processes and outcomes (in all dimensions) in the tourism context, particularly in a developing country. This study's findings contribute to a greater understanding of the impact of tourism on community empowerment in peripheral areas, a topic that has received limited attention from scholars (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017; Lane & Kastenholz, 2015). This study was conducted in a developing country that has peripheral characteristics, both geographically and politically, which are characteristics present in most developing countries. Therefore, to gain a deeper understanding of the suitability of community empowerment in a developing country, there is a need to explore the factors that have been identified in this study (e.g., community culture, peripherality) in more detail. In the political context, many developing countries have a different political system, which means there is a need to understand how to implement community empowerment in other political systems.

The literature notes that in the community context, the primary empowerment framework used is still Scheyvens' (1999) framework. To move beyond conceptual approaches, scholars have quantitatively operationalised the social, political, and psychological dimensions of empowerment by developing a scale. However, the scale (i.e., the Resident Empowerment through Tourism Scale/RETS) was developed and validated in developed countries. There is no particular scale designed for developing countries. The literature indicates that researchers in developing countries tend to design their own questions (Alsawafi, 2016; Brookes & Nwosu, 2014; Elsetouhi, Hammad, Nagm, & Elbaz, 2018; Iwuagwu et al., 2015; Kundu, 2012; Lin, Wu, & Ling, 2017; Magi, 2010; Nordin, Lonik, & Jaafar, 2014; Nwosu, 2014). The survey instrument in this study could be used in other countries or as a start for building a scale to measure empowerment outcomes in developing countries since this was an effective research tool for addressing this research question.



This study discussed only peripherality and community culture, whereas developing countries have other challenges to community empowerment, such as low educational levels and weak institutional structures. Therefore, there is a need to gain a deeper understanding of how education levels, particularly formal education and the existing institutional structures, could influence the community empowerment processes and its outcomes.

The study's findings also indicate that tourism stakeholders have a crucial role in community empowerment. However, this study has not discussed this role in detail or with a deeper understanding. For example, how should they design or plan their programmes and activities to empower the community and, afterwards, how can they monitor their activities and programmes to ensure these are empowering for all community members? The findings of this study have indicated that stakeholders' motivations play an important role in the way they planning their activities and programmes. However, this theme has not been analysed in detail.

In addition, both study sites are under the authority of the Forestry Department, whereas tourism sites in Indonesia have various management types (e.g., under other ministries, local government, private, etc) with their own regulations and frameworks. Therefore, it is important to conduct a study of a tourism destination with a different kind of management, since management is often related to policies and regulations, and these influence the opportunity structures for community empowerment.

The communities at both study sites consist of similar ethnic groups, Karonese and Javanese, which means the culture construct existing in both villages is similar. The Indonesian community consists of over 300 ethnicities with different cultural constructs (for community values and norms). Therefore, to reinforce the findings of this study, there is a need to conduct a similar study with a different ethnic group or in a community with a different ethnic composition. In addition, culture has other forms and dimensions aside from cultural values and norms. Therefore, it would be interesting to explore another cultural construct (e.g., social interaction, perception) in relation to community empowerment from tourism development.

This study examines the communities' perceptions of empowerment using a quantitative approach. which cannot gain a deeper understanding of the communities' perceptions. Therefore, there is a need to examine community members' perceptions of empowerment and what it means to them using a qualitative approach to gain more understanding of the community empowerment processes and outcomes

## 11.4 Concluding remarks

Community empowerment is important in tourism development since it could lead to achieving sustainable tourism goals. The local community is the stakeholder most affected by development of tourism in its area. Therefore, the community needs to be empowered so it can decide what is best for it. This study provides several arguments to enable a better understanding of community empowerment in tourism development in Indonesia. First, the bottom-up approach in tourism planning for tourism development does not guarantee achieving community empowerment from tourism development in these communities. This means that even though the community has the power to control tourism development in its area, community empowerment remains limited. Local power structures play an important role in shaping the opportunities for the community to be empowered by tourism development. Therefore, tourism stakeholders may have to implement strategies to increase community empowerment by recognising the local power structures already present in the community.

This thesis has revealed that the “Community Empowerment” concept, which has been developed in a western context, may need adjustment in its implementation in a developing country context and refinement in its definition. It must accommodate a range of cultural factors and acknowledge issues arising from peripherality, including impediments arising from political and geographical isolation which restricts the ability of communities to influence the tourism development process. In other words, tourism development stakeholders must appreciate the context in which they are working (culturally, politically, and spatially) since misunderstanding the local context will likely impede attempts to involve and genuinely empower local communities.

# Appendix A

## Research Information Sheet

### A.1 Research Information Sheet (Interview – in English)

Lincoln University  
*[Faculty of Environmental, Society, and Design, Department of Tourism, Sport and Society]*

#### Research Information Sheet (Interview)

I would like to invite you to participate in a project entitled “**Tourism and community empowerment: Critical insight from Indonesia**”. The aim of this project is to explore the nature of community empowerment resulted from tourism development in the case study areas. The project is being funded by Lincoln University (ESD research grant) and the Government of New Zealand. The findings will contribute to the improvement of tourism development strategies in Indonesia. For this project, I want to interview the stakeholder that involve in tourism development process in the case study area (Perkebunan Bukit Lawang or Namo Sialang village).

You are invited because of your organisation’s/business’s involvement in tourism development or operation in this community. I got your contact details from the previous participant and/or other sources such as Website.

Your participation in this project will involve answering a set of questions from interview list regarding your involvement with time estimation is approximately 30 – 45 minutes. The interview process will be recorded a voice recorder. If you do not agree to be recorded, then I will take full note of interview process.

Your participation is voluntary and you may decline to answer any question. You may withdraw from the research any time before 31 October 2016 by contacting me through the contact details below. If you withdraw, all the information and data collected from you will be destroyed.

The results of the project will be published in the researcher PhD thesis and submitted in academic journal, but you may be assured of your anonymity in this investigation and your data will be protected. The identity of any participant will not be made public, or made known to any person other than the researcher, his or her supervisors and the Human Ethics Committee in the event of an audit. To ensure anonymity, no respondent will be named in any published work, being described by roles only.

The project has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee. If you have a concern about any aspect of this project, please contact me or my supervisors, who will do the best to answer your questions

Researcher: Eva Rachmawati

Contact details: E-mail: [Eva.RachmawatiSolihin@lincolnuni.ac.nz](mailto:Eva.RachmawatiSolihin@lincolnuni.ac.nz); [evarachmawati@gmail.com](mailto:evarachmawati@gmail.com); phone: 628129456148

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She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the project.

Name of Supervisors: Dr. Joanna Fountain ([Joanna.Fountain@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:Joanna.Fountain@lincoln.ac.nz)) and Dr. Michael Mackay ([Michael.Mackay@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:Michael.Mackay@lincoln.ac.nz))

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## A.2 Research Information Sheet (Interview – in Indonesian)

Lincoln University

*[Fakultas Lingkungan, Sosial dan Desain - Departemen Wisata, Olahraga dan Masyarakat]*

### Lembar informasi penelitian (Wawancara)

Saya ingin mengundang anda untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian saya yang berjudul **“Wisata dan pemberdayaan masyarakat: Wawasan kritis dari Indonesia”**. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengeksplorasi proses pemberdayaan masyarakat dalam pengembangan wisata di wilayah studi kasus. Penelitian ini didanai oleh Lincoln University (hibah penelitian dari Fakultas ESD) dan Pemerintah Selandia Baru. Hasil dari penelitian ini diharapkan dapat berkontribusi pada peningkatan strategi pengembangan pariwisata di Indonesia. Untuk kegiatan ini, saya ingin mewawancarai pihak-pihak yang terlibat dalam proses pengembangan pariwisata di wilayah studi kasus ini (Perkebunan Bukit Lawang atau Namo Sialang village).

Anda diundang karena organisasi tempat anda bekerja terlibat dalam kegiatan pengembangan wisata di wilayah study saya. Saya mendapatkan alamat kontak anda dari partisipan sebelum anda dan atay dari sumber lain, seperti misalnya Website.

Partisipasi anda dalam kegiatan ini akan melibatkan menjawab serangkaian pertanyaan dari daftar pertanyaan untuk wawancara mengenai keterlibatan anda dengan estimasi waktu kira-kira 30-45 menit. Proses wawancara akan direkam dengan menggunakan perekam suara. Apabila anda tidak setuju untuk direkam, maka saya akan mencatat dengan lengkap proses wawancara ini.

Partisipasi Anda bersifat sukarela dan Anda dapat menolak untuk menjawab pertanyaan apa pun. Anda dapat menarik diri dari penelitian kapan saja sebelum 31 Oktober 2016 dengan menghubungi saya melalui rincian kontak di bawah ini. Jika Anda membatalkan keterlibatan anda, semua informasi dan data yang didapatkan dari Anda akan dihancurkan.

Hasil dari penelitian ini akan dipublikasikan dalam tesis PhD peneliti dan diterbitkan dalam jurnal akademik, tetapi dapat dipastikan bahwa anonimitas dan data Anda dalam penelitian ini akan dilindungi. Identitas setiap peserta tidak akan dipublikasikan, atau diketahui oleh orang lain selain peneliti, Pembimbing peneliti dan Komite Etika Manusia dalam hal audit. Untuk memastikan anonimitas, tidak ada responden yang akan disebutkan namanya dalam artikel yang dipublikasikan, hanya dijelaskan berdasarkan peran saja.

Kegiatan ini telah direview dan disetujui oleh Komite Etika Manusia, Lincoln University. Jika anda memiliki pertanyaan atau kekhawatiran terkait aspek apa pun dari kegiatan ini, anda dipersilahkan untuk menghubungi saya atau pembimbing saya, dan kami akan melakukan yang terbaik untuk menjawab pertanyaan anda.

*Peneliti:* Eva Rachmawati

*Alamat kontak:* E-mail: [Eva.RachmawatiSolihin@lincolnuni.ac.nz](mailto:Eva.RachmawatiSolihin@lincolnuni.ac.nz); [evarachmawati@gmail.com](mailto:evarachmawati@gmail.com); phone: 628129456148

Peneliti bersedia untuk mendiskusikan setiap masalah atau issue yang anda rasakan terkait dengan keterlibatan anda dalam penelitian ini.

*Nama Pembimbing:* Dr. Joanna Fountain ([Joanna.Fountain@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:Joanna.Fountain@lincoln.ac.nz)) dan Dr. Michael Mackay ([Michael.Mackay@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:Michael.Mackay@lincoln.ac.nz))

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## Appendix B

### Consent Form

#### B.1 Consent form for interview in English

##### Consent Form

***Name of Project: Tourism and community empowerment: Critical insight from Indonesia***

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I understand also that I may withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided, up to 31 October 2016.

- ☐ I consent to having an audio recording made my interview.
- ☐ I do not consent to having an audio recording made of my interview, but agree to notes being made.

Name:

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Signed:

Date:

## B.2 Consent form for interview in Indonesian

### Lembar Persetujuan

***Nama kegiatan: Wisata dan pemberdayaan masyarakat: Wawasan kritis dari Indonesia***

Saya telah membaca dan memahami deskripsi kegiatan yang disebutkan di atas. Atas dasar ini saya setuju untuk berpartisipasi dalam kegiatan ini, dan saya menyetujui publikasi hasil penelitian dengan paham bahwa anonimitas akan dipertahankan. Saya juga memahami bahwa saya dapat menarik diri dari proyek, termasuk menarik informasi apa pun yang saya berikan, hingga 31 Oktober 2016.

- ☐ Saya setuju bahwa proses wawancara saya direkam.
- ☐ Saya tidak setuju bahwa proses wawancara saya direkam, akan tetapi setuju jika dicatat.

Nama:

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Tanda tangan:

Tanggal:

# Appendix C

## Interview Guide

### Tourism and community empowerment: Critical insight from Indonesia

#### Themes/questions and prompts

#### 1. Key informant (background information)

- What is your official role in tourism development/the tourism industry in this village?
- How long have you been associated with tourism in the village?
- In practice, what is the everyday nature of your work?  
→ working directly with communities, liaising with the tourism industry, working with local, regional and central government decision-makers, research ...

#### 2. Informant's business/organisation/agency

- How long has your organisation/agency/business been involved in tourism in this village?
- What is the role of your organisation/agency/business in this village?
- Why did your organisation/agency/business become involved in tourism development in this village?
- Has the role of your organisation/agency/business changed since its first involvement?  
→ If yes, in what ways, why has there been a change of focus

#### 3. Tourism development

- What are the main (policy) objectives of tourism development in the village?  
→ Social, cultural, economic/commercial, environmental
- How are these objectives specifically being targeted/reached?  
→ Policy mechanisms, specific local/regional processes, economic subsidies
- What are the main challenges facing tourism development in the village?  
→ Local resistance, lack of appropriate support, lack of resources, infrastructure, isolation
- How are you overcoming those challenges?  
→ What has worked successfully and what has failed
- What are your perspectives on the future of tourism development in this village?  
→ Short-term, medium-term, long-term outlook/prospects

#### 4. Community empowerment through involvement in tourism development

- What opportunities do groups and individuals in this community have for involvement in local tourism development?  
→ Specific projects, planning processes, decision-making, discussion groups

- How is the community's involvement in tourism development encouraged/facilitated in the village?  
→ NGO activities, local authority support, industry support, local advocacy/leadership  
→ Specific examples
- Have efforts to involve the community in tourism development been successful? How so?  
→ Examples of success and factors for success
- What factors, if any, have inhibited community involvement in tourism development in the village?  
→ resources, time constraints, logistics, lack of awareness/communication, environment
- In your view, what is (or are) the main reason(s) for involving the community in local tourism development?
- What positive changes have you observed locally as a result of the community involvement in tourism?

#### **5. Tourism as a tool for empowering communities**

- What does 'community empowerment' mean to you?
- Based on your experiences in this village, how can tourism *empower* a local community and/or individual members within the community? (PROCESS FOCUS)  
→ Economically  
→ Psychologically  
→ Socially  
→ Politically
- Do you feel residents in this village have been empowered through tourism? (OUTCOME FOCUS)
- What groups are (or are *expected* to be) involved in the empowerment process in this community?
- Is community empowerment monitored by the tourism sector here? If so, how?  
→ is empowerment particularly difficult to measure? Why?
- Are there ways in which the community could be better empowered in the tourism development process?
- In your view, are there specific factors in this community which limit the degree of empowerment which is possible to achieve through tourism? What are these factors?  
→ Economic, cultural, social, political, environmental?
- Are there any other expected results you want to achieve, that are directly or closely related to community empowerment in a tourism context?



## Appendix D

### Research Information Sheet (Survey)

#### D.1 Research information sheet for survey in English

Lincoln University  
*[Faculty of Environmental, Society and Design, Department of Tourism, Sport and Society]*

#### Research Information Sheet (Survey)

I would like to invite you to participate in a project entitled “**Tourism and community empowerment: Critical insight from Indonesia**”. The aim of this project is to explore the nature of community empowerment resulted from tourism development in the case study areas. The project is being funded by Lincoln University (ESD research grant) and NZAID and the findings will contribute to the improvement of tourism development strategies in Indonesia.

You are invite to participate in this project because you are the community member in this village. Your participation in this project will involve answering a set of questions from survey form with time estimation is approximately 10 – 15 minutes.

Your participation is voluntary and you may decline to answer any question. You may withdraw from the research any time before 31 October 2016 by contacting me through the contact details below. If you withdraw, all the information and data collected from you will be destroyed.

The results of the project will be published in the researcher PhD thesis and submitted in academic journal, but you may be assured of your anonymity in this investigation and your data will be protected. The identity of any participant will not be made public, or made known to any person other than the researcher, his or her supervisors and the Human Ethics Committee in the event of an audit. To ensure anonymity, your personal details will not be used or mentioned in the process of writing up, presentation and or publication. No respondent will be named in any published work, being described by coded only.

The project has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee. If you have a concern about any aspect of this project, please contact me or my supervisors who will do the best to answer your questions

*Researcher:* Eva Rachmawati

*Contact details:* E-mail: [Eva.RachmawatiSolihin@lincolnuni.ac.nz](mailto:Eva.RachmawatiSolihin@lincolnuni.ac.nz); [evarachmawati@gmail.com](mailto:evarachmawati@gmail.com); phone: 628129456148

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She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the project.

*Supervisors:* Dr. Joanna Fountain ([Joanna.Fountain@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:Joanna.Fountain@lincoln.ac.nz)) and Dr. Michael Mackay ([Michael.Mackay@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:Michael.Mackay@lincoln.ac.nz))

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## D.2 Research information sheet for survey in Indonesian

Lincoln University

*[Fakultas Lingkungan, Sosial dan Desain - Departemen Wisata, Olahraga dan Masyarakat]*

### Lembar informasi penelitian (Survey)

Saya ingin mengundang anda untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian saya yang berjudul **“Wisata dan pemberdayaan masyarakat: Wawasan kritis dari Indonesia”**. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengeksplorasi proses pemberdayaan masyarakat dalam pengembangan wisata di wilayah studi kasus. Penelitian ini didanai oleh Lincoln University (hibah penelitian dari Fakultas ESD) dan Pemerintah Selandia Baru. Hasil dari penelitian ini diharapkan dapat berkontribusi pada peningkatan strategi pengembangan pariwisata di Indonesia.

Anda diundang untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini karena Anda adalah anggota masyarakat desa ini. Partisipasi Anda dalam kegiatan ini akan melibatkan menjawab satu set pertanyaan dari formulir survei dengan estimasi waktu kira-kira 10 - 15 menit.

Partisipasi Anda bersifat sukarela dan Anda dapat menolak untuk menjawab pertanyaan apa pun. Anda dapat menarik diri dari penelitian kapan saja sebelum 31 Oktober 2016 dengan menghubungi saya melalui rincian kontak di bawah ini. Jika Anda membatalkan keterlibatan anda, semua informasi dan data yang didapatkan dari Anda akan dihancurkan.

Hasil dari penelitian ini akan dipublikasikan dalam tesis PhD peneliti dan diterbitkan dalam jurnal akademik, tetapi dapat dipastikan bahwa anonimitas dan data Anda dalam penelitian ini akan dilindungi. Identitas setiap peserta tidak akan dipublikasikan, atau diketahui oleh orang lain selain peneliti, Pembimbing peneliti dan Komite Etika Manusia dalam hal audit. Untuk memastikan anonimitas, data pribadi anda tidak akan digunakan atau disebutkan dalam proses penulisan, presentasi dana tau publikasi. Tidak ada responden yang akan disebutkan namanya dalam artikel yang dipublikasikan, hanya disebutkan dengan menggunakan kode.

Kegiatan ini telah direview dan disetujui oleh Komite Etika Manusia, Lincoln University. Jika anda memiliki pertanyaan atau kekhawatiran terkait aspek apa pun dari kegiatan ini, anda dipersilahkan untuk menghubungi saya atau pembimbing saya, dan kami akan melakukan yang terbaik untuk menjawab pertanyaan anda.

*Peneliti:* Eva Rachmawati

*Alamat kontak:* E-mail: [Eva.RachmawatiSolihin@lincolnuni.ac.nz](mailto:Eva.RachmawatiSolihin@lincolnuni.ac.nz); [evarachmawati@gmail.com](mailto:evarachmawati@gmail.com); phone: 628129456148

Peneliti bersedia untuk mendiskusikan setiap masalah atau issue yang anda rasakan terkait dengan keterlibatan anda dalam penelitian ini.

*Nama Pembimbing:* Dr. Joanna Fountain ([Joanna.Fountain@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:Joanna.Fountain@lincoln.ac.nz)) dan Dr. Michael Mackay ([Michael.Mackay@lincoln.ac.nz](mailto:Michael.Mackay@lincoln.ac.nz))

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## Appendix E

### Questionnaire

#### E.1 Questionnaire in English

☐

I have understood the description of the project. On this basis, I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I also understand that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided, up to 31 October 2016.

#### Questionnaire Community perception towards tourism development and community empowerment

Respondent ID :

Date :

Hamlet/village :

Time :

1. Were you born in this village? Yes/No
2. How long have you lived in this village:      years
3. How many adults live in this household ( $\geq 17$  years) :
4. How many children live in this household ( $< 17$  years):

#### *The next question will ask about your involvement in tourism*

5. Are you directly involved in the tourism industry? Yes/No

If yes: In what way?

If yes: How long have been involved?

6. Are there any other members of your household involved in the tourism industry?

Yes/No

In what ways are they involved?

How long have they been involved?

7. Have you personally been involved in tourism development in this village? Yes/No

In what way?

8. In your opinion, what, if any, benefit have you and your family received from tourism?

9. In your opinion, what, if any, benefit has the community received from tourism?

***Below are a number of statements about tourism in the area, I would like you to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each. (I will be presented show card)***

***The scale ranges from “Strongly Disagree (1)” to “Strongly Agree (7).”***

10.	Tourism in my village helps me pay my bills	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	Income from tourism gives me choices in how I spend my money	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	Tourism in my village brings lasting economic benefit to a local community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	Tourism in my village supports public facility development here	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	Most profits from tourism in my village go to local elites, outside operators, or government agencies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefits from tourism in my village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	Tourism in my village makes me feel special because people travel to see my village's natural resources or traditional culture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	Tourism in my village makes me feel proud of my culture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	Tourism in my village makes me want to share my traditional knowledge with the visitors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	Tourism in my village increases my confidence that I will find local employment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	Tourism in my village increases my status in the community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	Tourism in my village makes me want to seek out further education and training opportunities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.	Tourism in my village makes me feel that my culture and way of life is inferior	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	Tourism in my village restricts my access to natural resources	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	Tourism in my village makes me feel disillusioned with tourism development	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25.	Tourism in my village makes me feel more connected to my community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26.	Tourism in my village provides ways for me to get involved in my community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27.	Tourism in my village encourages me to work with others to ensure it is a success	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28.	Tourism in my village increase the conflict within my community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29.	I have an opportunity to voice my opinions about tourism development in my village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30.	Tourism decision makers would ignore my opinion about tourism development in this village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31.	My needs and interest are considered in the tourism development process	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32.	I can ask questions relating to the tourism development process in the village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

***The next questions will ask about expected impact from tourism and community empowerment***

33. Have you heard the term “community empowerment”? Yes/No (If “No” continue to Q 35).  
What does the term mean to you?

***Finally, I need to ask a couple of demographic questions to help analyse the results***

34. Gender :
35. How old are you?
36. What is your main occupation?
37. Do you have any other occupation(s)? Yes/No (If “No”, continue to Q 40)  
What are they?
38. Which occupation that you spent most of your time? (main occupation or secondary)  
How long and why?
39. From which occupation that you gain most of your income? (main occupation or secondary)  
Please explain your answer
40. What is your ethnicity?
41. What is the highest level of education you have completed so far?

**Thank you for taking the time to complete the survey!**  
**We appreciate your time and willingness to share your opinions**

## E.2 Questionnaire in Indonesian

☐

Saya telah memahami gambaran penelitian ini. Saya memahami bahwa informasi yang saya berikan akan dipergunakan hanya untuk kepentingan penelitian dan publikasi hasil penelitian ini dan bahwa kerahasiaan data akan dilindungi. Atas dasar ini saya setuju untuk berpartisipasi sebagai subjek dalam penelitian, dan saya menyetujui publikasi hasil dari penelitian. Saya juga mengerti bahwa saya dapat mengundurkan diri kapan saja dari penelitian ini, termasuk menarik informasi yang telah saya berikan sampai sebelum tanggal 31 Oktober 2016.

### Kuisisioner

#### Persepsi masyarakat mengenai pembangunan pariwisata dan pemberdayaan masyarakat

ID responden :

Tanggal:

Dusun/desa :

Waktu :

1. Apakah anda dilahirkan di desa ini? Ya/Tidak
2. Sudah berapa lama anda tinggal di desa ini: tahun
3. Berapa orang dewasa ( $\geq 17$  tahun) yang tinggal di rumah ini:
4. Berapa orang anak ( $< 17$  tahun) yang tinggal di rumah ini:

#### ***Pertanyaan berikutnya adalah mengenai keterlibatan anda dalam pariwisata***

5. Apakah anda terlibat langsung dalam industri pariwisata? Ya/Tidak

Jika Ya: Dalam bentuk apa?

Jika Ya: Sudah berapa lama anda terlibat?

6. Apakah ada anggota keluarga anda yang terlibat dalam industri pariwisata? Ya/Tidak

Jika Ya: Apa bentuk keterlibatan mereka?

Jika Ya: Sudah berapa lama mereka terlibat?

7. Apakah anda pernah terlibat dalam pembangunan pariwisata di desa ini? Ya/Tidak

Jika Ya: Dalam bentuk atau kegiatan apa?

8. Menurut pendapat anda, jika ada, apa keuntungan yang anda dan keluarga anda peroleh dari pariwisata?

9. Menurut pendapat anda, jika ada, apa manfaat yang diperoleh masyarakat dari pariwisata?

***Dibawah ini terdapat sejumlah pernyataan mengenai pariwisata di desa anda. Saya berharap anda dapat menunjukkan sejauh mana anda setuju atau tidak setuju terhadap masing-masing pernyataan tersebut. (Saya akan menunjukkan kartu yang bertuliskan angka 1 - 7) Angka 1 menunjukkan "Sangat tidak setuju" dan angka 7 "Sangat setuju".***

10.	Pariwisata di desa saya membantu saya membayar keperluan saya	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	Pendapatan dari pariwisata memberikan kesempatan kepada saya untuk memilih bagaimana menggunakan uang saya	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	Pariwisata di desa saya menghasilkan manfaat ekonomi jangka panjang untuk masyarakat lokal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	Pariwisata di desa saya membantu terlaksananya pembangunan fasilitas publik di wilayah ini	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	Sebagian besar keuntungan dari pariwisata di desa ini dirasakan oleh kelompok lokal tertentu, operator dari luar desa atau pemerintah	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	Hanya sedikit orang atau keluarga yang memperoleh keuntungan finansial langsung dari pariwisata di desa saya	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	Pariwisata di desa saya membuat saya merasa istimewa karena orang-orang datang ke desa saya untuk melihat sumberdaya alam atau kebudayaan tradisional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	Pariwisata di desa saya membuat saya merasa bangga terhadap kebudayaan yang saya miliki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	Pariwisata di desa saya membuat saya ingin berbagi pengetahuan tradisional kepada pengunjung	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	Pariwisata di desa saya meningkatkan rasa percaya diri bahwa saya akan dapat menemukan pekerjaan di desa ini	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	Pariwisata di desa saya meningkatkan status saya di masyarakat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	Pariwisata di desa saya membuat saya ingin mencari peluang untuk melanjutkan pendidikan ke jenjang yang lebih tinggi dan untuk mendapatkan pelatihan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.	Pariwisata di desa saya membuat saya merasa bahwa kebudayaan dan cara hidup saya lebih rendah dari yang lain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	Pariwisata di desa saya membatasi akses saya ke sumberdaya alam	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	Pariwisata di desa saya membuat saya merasakan kekecewaan terhadap pembangunan pariwisata	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25.	Pariwisata di desa saya membuat saya merasa lebih terhubung dengan masyarakat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26.	Pariwisata di desa saya memberikan jalan kepada saya untuk terlibat di masyarakat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27.	Pariwisata di desa saya mendorong saya untuk bekerja sama dengan yang lain untuk menjamin keberhasilan pembangunannya	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28.	Pariwisata di desa saya menambah munculnya konflik dalam masyarakat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

29.	Saya mendapat kesempatan untuk memberikan pendapat saya mengenai pembangunan pariwisata di desa saya	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30.	Pengambil keputusan terkait pembangunan pariwisata tidak mengacuhkan pendapat saya mengenai pembangunan pariwisata di desa ini	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31.	Kebutuhan dan kepentingan saya dipertimbangkan dalam proses pembangunan pariwisata	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32.	Saya dapat mengajukan pertanyaan mengenai proses pembangunan pariwisata di desa ini	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

***Pertanyaan berikutnya mengenai dampak yang diharapkan dari pariwisata dan pemberdayaan masyarakat***

33. Apakah anda pernah mendengar istilah “pemberdayaan masyarakat”? Ya/Tidak (Jika “Tidak” berlanjut ke pertanyaan 34).  
 Apa arti dari istilah tersebut untuk anda?

***Terakhir, saya ingin menanyakan beberapa pertanyaan terkait demografi untuk membantu saya menganalisa hasil kuisisioner ini***

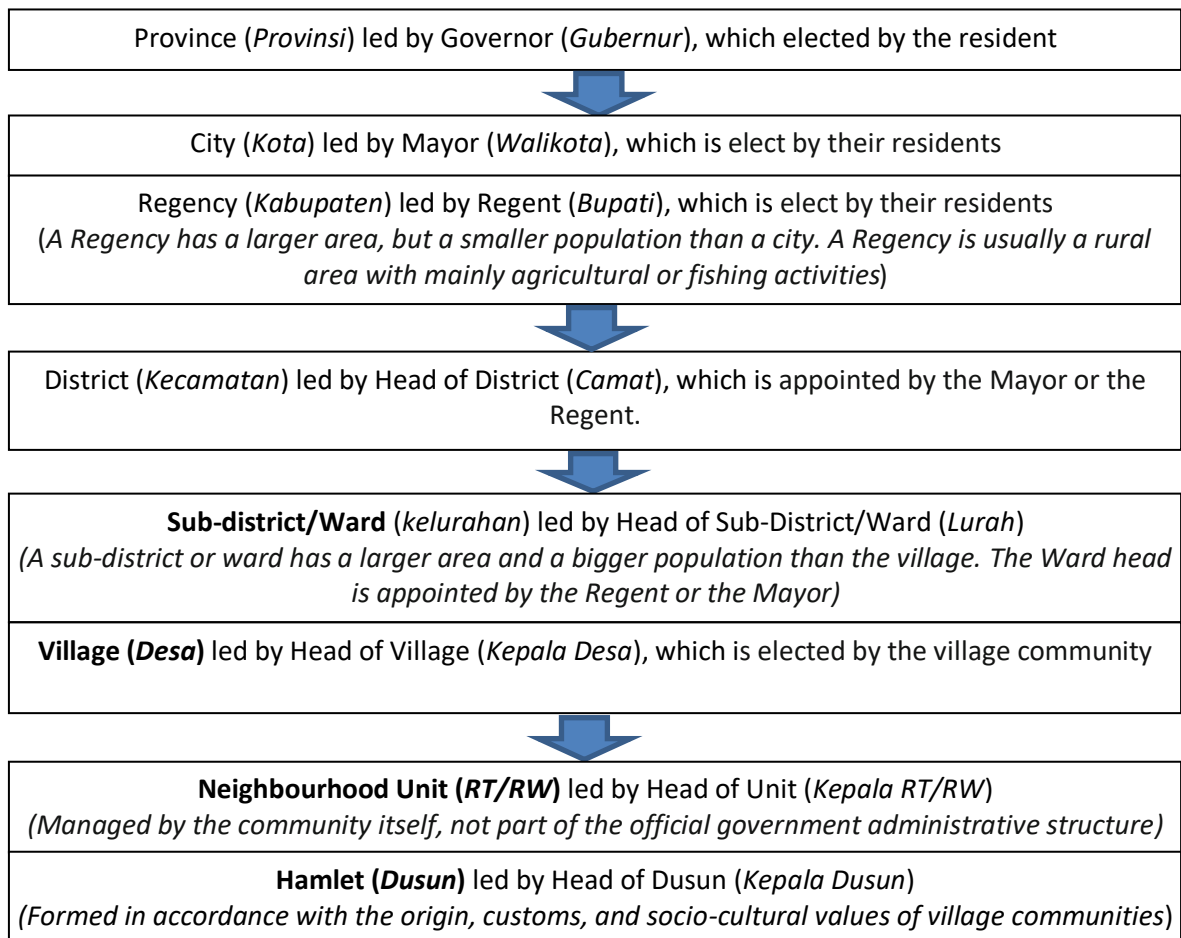
34. Jenis kelamin :
35. Berapa umur anda?
36. Apa pekerjaan utama anda?
37. Apakah anda memiliki pekerjaan lain? Ya/Tidak (Jika “Tidak”, lanjutkan ke pertanyaan 40)  
 Apakah pekerjaan tersebut?
38. Pekerjaan mana yang menghabiskan waktu anda paling lama? (pekerjaan utama atau pekerjaan sampingan)  
 Berapa lama dan mengapa?
39. Dari pekerjaan mana anda memperoleh pendapatan yang lebih besar? (pekerjaan utama atau pekerjaan sampingan)  
 Tolong jelaskan jawaban anda!
40. Apa suku bangsa anda?
41. Apa jenjang pendidikan tertinggi yang telah anda tempuh sejauh ini?

**Terima kasih atas waktu yang telah anda berikan untuk mengisi kuisisioner ini. Kami sangat menghargai waktu dan kesediaan anda untuk memberikan pendapat anda.**



## Appendix F

### Administrative Governance Division at Indonesia

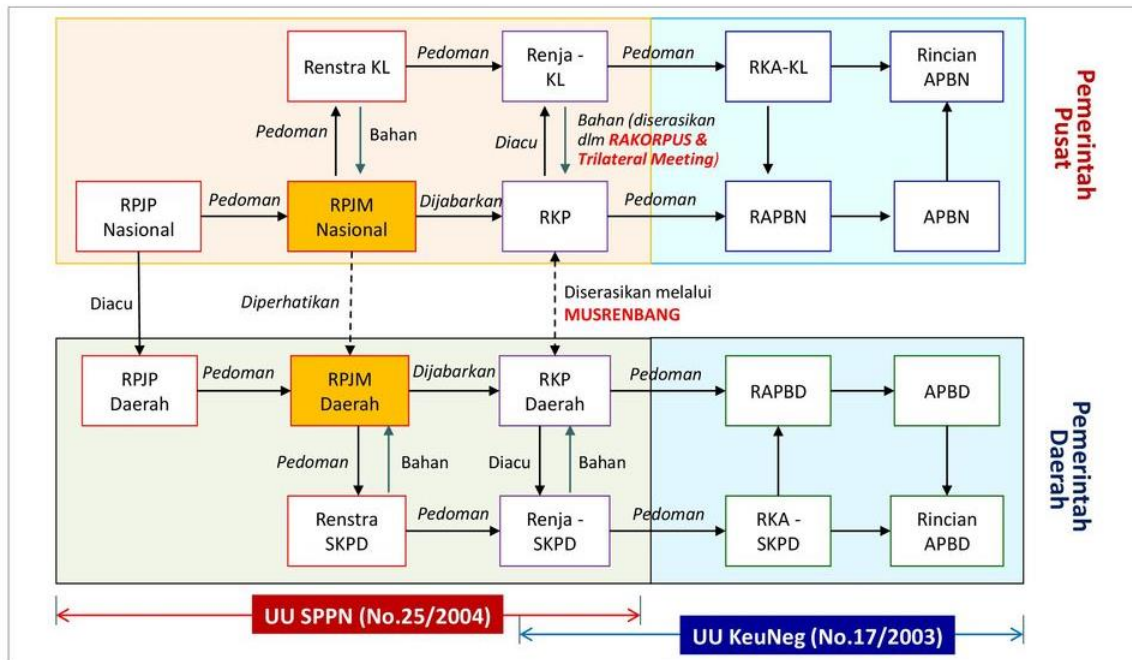


## Appendix G

### Indonesian Development Planning System



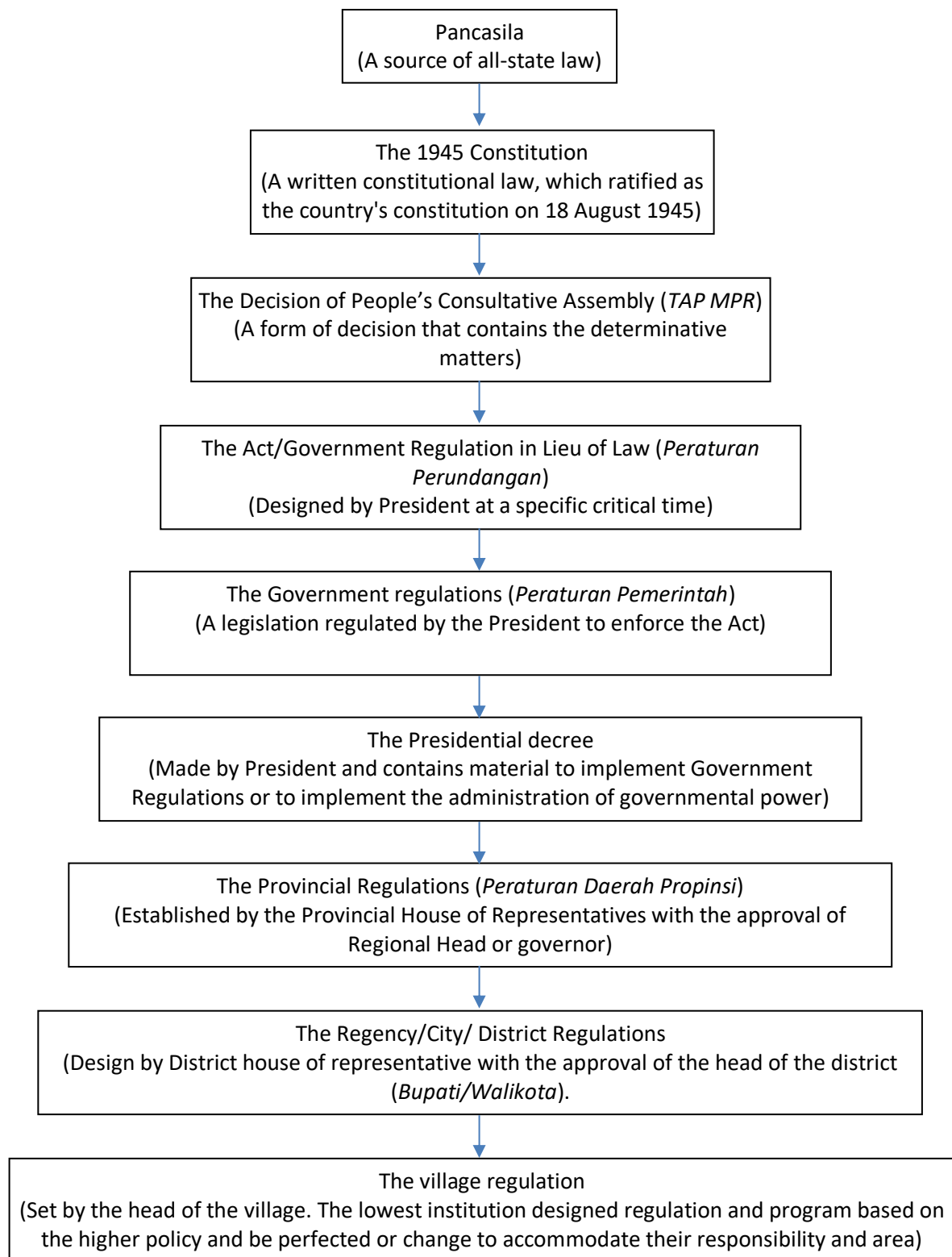
#### SISTEM PERENCANAAN PEMBANGUNAN NASIONAL





## Appendix H

### Indonesian Legislation/Regulation System



## Appendix I

### Statistical Analysis of Community Empowerment Outcomes at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang

#### I.1 Variables influencing respondents' perceptions of empowerment outcomes at Perkebunan Bukit Lawang

##### I.1.1 Economic Empowerment

Variables	Variable influence (P value, alpha 0.05)								
	Age	Involvement in tourism industry	Education	Ethnicity	Family involvement	Gender	Hamlet	Involvement in planning	Main occupation
1. Tourism in my village helps me pay my bills	0.163	0.000***	0.172	0.354	0.000***	0.080	0.000***	0.077	0.000***
2. Income from tourism gives me choices in how I spend my money	0.107	0.000***	0.74	0.554	0.001**	0.678	0.003**	0.060	0.001**
3. Tourism in my village brings lasting economic benefit to a local community	0.326	0.003**	0.005**	0.287	0.079	0.475	0.535	0.698	0.291
4. Tourism in my village supports public facility development here	0.062	0.169	0.386	0.160	0.220	0.354	0.025*	0.291	0.036*
5. Most profits from tourism in my village go to local elites, outside operators or government agencies	0.627	0.233	0.625	0.109	0.143	0.400	0.063	0.259	0.288
6. Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefits from tourism in my village	0.749	0.198	0.450	0.025*	0.171	0.472	0.008**	0.631	0.350

### I.1.2 Psychological Empowerment

Indicators	Characteristic associated (P value)								
	Age	Involvement in tourism industry	Education	Ethnicity	Family involvement	Gender	Hamlet	Involvement in planning	Main occupation
1. Tourism in my village makes me feel special because people travel to see my village's natural resources or traditional culture	0.575	0.001**	0.001**	0.850	0.446	0.801	0.722	0.016*	0.000***
2. Tourism in my village makes me feel proud of my culture	0.616	0.001**	0.007**	0.057	0.112	0.024*	0.680	0.019*	0.097
3. Tourism in my village makes me want to share my traditional knowledge with the visitors	0.569	0.000***	0.073	0.921	0.127	0.531	0.145	0.007**	0.003**
4. Tourism in my village increases my confidence that I will find local employment	0.210	0.000***	0.131	0.190	0.071	0.186	0.002**	0.208	0.000***
5. Tourism in my village increases my status in the community	0.179	0.000***		0.388	0.114	0.864	0.022**	0.096	0.000***
6. Tourism in my village makes me want to seek out further education and training opportunities.	0.293	0.063	0.092	0.513	0.152	0.000***	0.640	0.053	0.000***
7. Tourism in my village makes me feel that my culture and way of life is inferior	0.553	0.005**	0.120	0.052	0.057	0.443	0.428	0.481	0.083
8. Tourism in my village restricts my access to natural resources	0.005**	0.000***	0.498	0.915	0.054	0.132	0.070	0.106	0.168
9. Tourism in my village makes me feel disappointed with tourism development	0.014*	0.111	0.156	0.578	0.079	0.116	0.077	0.017*	0.444

### I.1.3 Social Empowerment

Variables	Characteristic influenced								
	Age	Involvement in tourism industry	Education	Ethnicity	Family involvement	Gender	Hamlet	Involvement in planning	Main occupation
1. Tourism in my village makes me feel more connected to my community	0.312	0.007**	0.586	0.111	0.489	0.762	0.176	0.169	0.000***
2. Tourism in my village provides ways for me to get involved in my community	0.140	0.008**	0.392	0.181	0.572	0.408	0.106	0.084	0.000***
3. Tourism in my village encourages me to work with others to ensure it is a success	0.628	0.002**	0.050*	0.085	0.522	0.125	0.201	0.050*	0.001**
4. Tourism in my village increase the conflict within my community	0.473	0.531	0.240	0.728	0.127	0.086	0.058	0.097	0.072

#### I.1.4 Political Empowerment

Variables	Characteristic influenced (P value)								
	Age	Involvement in tourism industry	Education	Ethnicity	Family involvement	Gender	Hamlet	Involvement in planning	Main occupation
1. I have an opportunity to voice my opinions about tourism development in my village	0.238	0.035*	0.590	0.003**	0.421	0.010*	0.042*	0.001**	0.006**
2. Tourism decision makers would ignore my opinion about tourism development in this village	0.651	0.073	0.353	0.107	0.930	0.218	0.097	0.371	0.868
3. My needs and interest are considered in the tourism development process	0.602	0.254	0.579	0.116	0.159	0.271	0.088	0.752	0.085
4. I can ask questions relating to the tourism development process in the village	0.262	0.023*	0.422	0.192	0.031*	0.064	0.108	0.000***	0.000***



## Appendix J

### Statistical Analysis of Community Empowerment Outcomes at Namo Sialang

#### J.1 Variables influencing respondents' perceptions of empowerment outcomes at Namo Sialang

##### J.1.1 Economic Empowerment

Variables	Characteristic influence								
	Age	Involvement in tourism industry	Education	Ethnicity	Family involvement	Gender	Hamlet	Involvement in planning	Main occupation
1. Tourism in my village helps me pay my bills	0.732	0.000***	0.658	0.117	0.009**	0.282	0.000***	0.200	0.027*
2. Income from tourism gives me choices in how I spend my money	0.856	0.000***	0.824	0.008	0.007**	0.219	0.007**	0.016*	0.002**
3. Tourism in my village brings lasting economic benefit to a local community	0.365	0.001**	0.003**	0.061	0.051	0.016*	0.003**	0.874	0.007**
4. Tourism in my village supports public facility development here	0.264	0.001**	0.884	0.017*	0.000***	0.002**	0.001**	0.454	0.002**
5. Most profits from tourism in my village go to local elites, outside operators or government agencies	0.120	0.001**	0.001**	0.358	0.607	0.973	0.161	0.746	0.010*
6. Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefits from tourism in my village	0.810	0.000***	0.031*	0.368	0.101	0.420	0.557	0.597	0.001**

### J.1.2 Psychological Empowerment

Indicators	Characteristic associated (P value)								
	Age	Involvement in tourism industry	Education	Ethnicity	Family involvement	Gender	Hamlet	Involvement in planning	Main occupation
1. Tourism in my village makes me feel special because people travel to see my village's natural resources or traditional culture	0.067	0.014*	0.198	0.243	0.243		0.271	0.374	0.981
2. Tourism in my village makes me feel proud of my culture	0.523	0.000***	0.655	0.757	0.757	0.208	0.725	0.981	0.642
3. Tourism in my village makes me want to share my traditional knowledge with the visitors	0.241	0.000***	0.000***	0.359	0.359	0.319	0.224	0.005**	0.000***
4. Tourism in my village increases my confidence that I will find local employment	0.096	0.000***	0.635	0.670	0.006**	0.351	0.094	0.032*	0.033*
5. Tourism in my village increases my status in the community	0.736	0.000***	0.632	0.966	0.071	0.019*	0.059	0.016*	0.002**
6. Tourism in my village makes me want to seek out further education and training opportunities.	0.201	0.000***	0.195	0.811	0.077	0.310	0.895	0.008**	0.012*
7. Tourism in my village makes me feel that my culture and way of life is inferior	0.494	0.139	0.023*	0.840	0.663	0.268	0.945	0.080	0.289
8. Tourism in my village restricts my access to natural resources	0.120	0.004**	0.331	0.648	0.424	0.301	0.000***	0.876	0.544
9. Tourism in my village makes me feel disappointed with tourism development	0.060	0.101	0.534	0.658	0.267	0.003**	0.695	0.068	0.153

### J.1.3 Social Empowerment

Variables	Characteristic influenced								
	Age	Involvement in tourism industry	Education	Ethnicity	Family involvement	Gender	Hamlet	Involvement in planning	Main occupation
1. Tourism in my village makes me feel more connected to my community	0.397	0.000***	0.375	0.344	0.285	0.005**	0.010*	0.035*	0.000***
2. Tourism in my village provides ways for me to get involved in my community	0.198	0.000***	0.769	0.843	0.035*	0.002**	0.086	0.008**	0.000***
3. Tourism in my village encourages me to work with others to ensure it is a success	0.896	0.000***	0.117	0.173	0.237	0.000***	0.013*	0.000***	0.003**
4. Tourism in my village increase the conflict within my community	0.141	0.029*	0.083	0.147	0.241	0.080	0.961	0.500	0.239

### J.1.4 Political Empowerment

Variables	Characteristic influenced								
	Age	Involvement in tourism industry	Education	Ethnicity	Family involvement	Gender	Hamlet	Involvement in planning	Main occupation
1. I have an opportunity to voice my opinions about tourism development in my village	0.443	0.000***	0.410	0.643	0.015	0.002**	0.847	0.001**	0.131
2. Tourism decision makers would ignore my opinion about tourism development in this village	0.732	0.152	0.172	0.055	0.011*	0.259	0.979	0.036*	0.175
3. My needs and interest are considered in the tourism development process	0.962	0.159	0.117	0.971	0.029*	0.000***	0.019*	0.114	0.000***
4. I can ask questions relating to the tourism development process in the village	0.372	0.037*		0.642	0.000***	0.001**	0.067	0.020*	0.257

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